Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

JOHN BATES CLARK, DIRECTOR

PRELIMINARY ECONOMIC STUDIES OF THE WAR

EDITED BY

DAVID KINLEY

Professor of Political Economy, University of Illinois
Member of Committee of Research of the Endowment

No. 8

BRITISH WAR ADMINISTRATION

BY

JOHN A. FAIRLIE

Professor of Political Science, University of Illinois

NEW YORK

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This study of British War Administration by Professor Fairlie is one of a series of war studies organized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to lay a preliminary basis for future more thorough study of the effects of the war on economic and social life. It is hoped at some later time, after the distractions of the war are over, and the lives of men have returned to normal conditions, that we shall be able to measure more exactly and estimate more carefully the changes induced by the war in the administration of governments, and particularly the extent to which these changes are likely to be permanent. A superficial view and a hasty judgment would indicate that the world has taken great strides in the direction of state socialism. It is not surprising that the demand of the socialists for an extension of government activities in the sphere of economic life should be strengthened in war time by the added call of a large number of people who are impressed with the apparent efficiency of the management by government departments of certain industries for the purposes of the war. These new advocates of state socialism are not to be classed with what we may call professional socialists, but rather belong to that large class of the American people, to be found in a considerable number in any intelligent democracy, who are overimpressed with the temporary success of a new political or social experiment carried on under pretty definite conditions, with pretty definite ends in view. They forget that the economic and social life of the people is vastly more complex and difficult to adjust in normal times of peace activity than it is in time of war, when many of the ordinary industrial and commercial activities of the world are much reduced in scope and limited in number. Such people are impressed with the splendid success which the British Government has had in many of its wartime administrative expedients and organizations.

They forget that while many of the demands of economic life in normal peace conditions have disappeared or have been much curtailed and that while many of the administrative devices and organizations necessary to conduct these have also disappeared or have been greatly modified under the stress of the war, they will have to be restored after the war, unless in the succeeding period of peace we are to be content with a narrower economic life conducted under war methods of organization.

There is no doubt that the world has not yet found a scientific solution of the problem of the line of division between private and public enterprise. Each method has its evils. In a democracy the possible evils of public enterprise in industry and trade are numerous and great. There seems to be an inherent conflict between democracy and what is called efficiency that does not obtain in an autocratic form of government, assuming, of course, that both governments are honest. Therefore, when the people of a democracy find it necessary to act as a unit and so to lay aside for a time and for some definite purpose their manifold and multitudinous kinds of activity in order to achieve a single end, they find it necessary to adopt, in appearance at any rate, the methods of autocracy. That is to say, they consolidate and centralize administrative authority—a consolidation and concentration which exists in ordinary times in an autocracy. But such concentration in a democracy is a result of the choice of the people and, if the democracy survives, can be only temporary. In an autocracy such concentration is imposed upon the people and is not abandoned at the end of the crisis.

Some such experience the democracies of Great Britain and the United States are passing through. They have abandoned the ordinary rights, privileges and prerogatives of individual citizenship for a time in order to achieve a great purpose, the failure of which would make impossible in the future the pursuit of these rights, privileges and prerogatives. It may be that as a result of this experience we shall reach the conclusion that some of these rights, privileges and prerogatives of the individual citizen can be more surely perpetuated by a readjustment of the economic activities of individuals on one side, and of the community at large,

through government agencies, on the other. That is to say, we may conclude, as a result of our war administration, to operate through government agencies some industries that have heretofore been wholly individualistic in their management. We will do that only if we are convinced that such an extension of governmental activity will conserve the political freedom which we have inherited from our fathers, which is, after all, of first importance, while at the same time adding something to the economic prosperity of individuals, or diversifying more richly the economic life of the individual citizen.

But such a condition will be far from state socialism. Those who clamor most loudly for governmental action in the economic sphere seem to forget that after all the only important element in society, so far as concerns the enjoyment of prosperity and welfare, is the individual. There is no such thing as a more prosperous community excepting in the sense of a community of more prosperous individuals; and there is no way of securing a more prosperous community except by making individuals more prosperous. This does not mean that all individuals in a community need to become economically better off. The improvement may result as well from improved distribution as from improved production. In short, government action is not a talisman for greater prosperity. If we were to adopt it on a wholesale scale it would soon show, outside of certain very limited spheres, weaknesses far greater than any that have developed in an individualistic system. The people of Great Britain and of the United States need to proceed with caution in making permanent, or in permitting to continue for too long a time, any of the important extensions of government administration into the economic sphere which have been made because of the necessities of the war. Especially should the people of the United States be on their guard against the continuance of the far-reaching extension of the activities of the federal government and its many bureaus.

Professor Fairlie's study was made, of course, principally for the purpose of making a historical record of the facts in the case, and he has limited his inquiry principally to the agencies of the

central government. He has kept off the dangerous ground of speculation and inference. The story, however, is full of lessons for the student of administration, and for the ordinary citizen who is jealous of his freedom. He may willingly put up for a period with the deprivation of his ordinary rights. To put up with such a condition permanently would be to surrender in the long run the very things for which he is fighting in this war.

The reader will be struck with the efficiency with which on the whole the British people have organized themselves for war. The story is certainly a fine tribute to the adaptability of British talent and character. There have been many mistakes, as was to be expected. There have been many grumblings and some insubordination, but on the whole the record is one of the acceptance of high ideals and the organization of excellent administrative machinery to attain them with a regard for efficiency in operation that far surpasses anything that could have been expected. The agencies of the British war administration have reached into every line of the life of the individual of the British Isles. They have been welcomed or acquiesced in by the great majority of the people as necessary to win the war. Hardships have been endured and sufferings undergone for this great purpose in a spirit that commands the admiration of the world. The people of the United States have followed largely in their footsteps in the matter of war organization and administration. Some things in our administration are, of course, peculiar to ourselves, but the readiness with which our people have acquiesced in the measures which the government regards as necessary to obtain our great purpose equals and perhaps, indeed, surpasses, that which has been shown by the people of Britain herself. Whatever else the future may have in store, we have good assurance that the democracies of America, France and Great Britain will not permit the destruction of individual freedom, individual initiative and progress through individual action for the sake of a fanciful idea that there is such a thing as community life that needs to be promoted apart from the lives of the individuals composing it. On the other hand, we may feel sure also that the experiences of the war, the closeness into which classes of

society hitherto almost strangers to one another have been brought by the war, the general spread of a better understanding among these classes and the realization in all of them that the ideals and aspirations of them all are substantially the same, will go far to establish that real communal democracy of spirit and service and sacrifice which will prevent exploitation of individuals and of the welfare and prosperity of the majority. Such extension of governmental administration as may be necessary for this purpose we will all gladly acquiesce in. To extend such administration beyond this point would be to destroy liberty.

DAVID KINLEY.

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FOREWORD

This report aims to present a systematic and somewhat comprehensive account of the manifold changes in the machinery of governmental administration in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland which have been made during and as a result of the war. The extent of the report gives some indication of the great variety and number of special agencies brought into existence; and it is hoped that the arrangement and treatment of the data will help to explain the relations of different agencies to each other, to show to some extent their relative importance, and to emphasize some of the more significant and fundamental alterations in the British Government.

It should, however, be clearly understood that the report presents only a preliminary survey, and by no means gives an exhaustive account of the subject. Some of the limitations may be briefly noted. Only the governmental agencies in the United Kingdom have been included; and while some of these deal with imperial affairs outside of the British Isles, the study does not include the governmental war agencies of the British Dominions and possessions beyond the seas. Within the United Kingdom, the study is limited in the main to agencies of the central government; and does not cover the details of local organization and local agencies.

In dealing with the agencies included, considerable variation will be found in the treatment given to different bodies. Most attention has been given to the more important authorities; but the treatment of many agencies has been affected by the material available. In a good many cases no printed documents appear to have been issued; and no doubt some of those issued have not come to this country.

The scope of the report is confined to the organization of administrative agencies; and while some account of work accom-

plished is given, there is no attempt to cover the activities of the governmental agencies in detail, as this would involve duplicating the other monographs in this series.

Much of the data has been taken from the official publications of the British Government; and the resources of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library and the John Crerar Library in Chicago have been used to supplement each other. But considerable use has also been made of data from reliable secondary sources, which have filled gaps in the official publications.

It is believed that this report covers the ground with a fair degree of completeness to the end of the year 1917. Data of later date have also been used where possible; but both official documents and secondary sources since the beginning of 1918 have been lacking in many cases.

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BRITISH WAR ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER I

War Measures in Former Times

As a background for the study of methods of war legislation and administration in the present world conflict, a brief survey may be made of the measures and methods of the English and British Government in earlier wars. No attempt will be made at a comprehensive account of all the wars in which England has been engaged, nor to cover completely even the periods selected. But a sketch will be given showing the main lines of legislative and administrative action in some of the more important contests. For this purpose there have been selected the war with Spain in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and three wars with France, at the end of the seventeenth and the middle and end of the eighteenth centuries. These will illustrate the broad lines of administrative development, and will furnish a basis for a comparison and contrast of present day methods.

Elizabethan War Administration[1]

At the time of the danger from the Spanish Armada in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the conduct of the defense of the kingdom was exercised directly and mainly by the Privy Council. This body acted almost entirely under the authority of its common law powers and earlier statutes; and the only important Acts of Parliament passed relating to the war were those making grants of taxation. Acts providing for subsidies and fifteenths and tenths were passed in the sessions of 1584-5, 1586-7 and 1588-9.[2] Assessments for these taxes were made by commissioners for the shires and boroughs, appointed by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward,

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, viii, ch. 124, pp. 42-45.
[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, iv: 27 Eliz. ch. 28, 29; 29 Eliz. ch. 7, 8; 31 Eliz. ch. 14, 15.

Lord Admiral and Lord Chamberlain; and collectors were appointed by members of Parliament, or in default by the Lord Chancellor. An earlier statute for the encouragement of the fishing industry as a means for developing the navy was continued.[1] After the crisis several Acts of Parliament were passed dealing with conditions resulting from the war. Thus an act of 1589 made the embezzlement of military stores a felony, and acts of 1593 and 1597 provided for parish rates to be levied for the relief of maimed soldiers and mariners. The well known Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 also provided special measures for the relief of soldiers and mariners.

In contrast with the slight amount of parliamentary legislation, the records of the Privy Council of the time show this body meeting at intervals of a few days and taking decisive measures for dealing with the situation, not only by general regulations, but also by specific orders and instructions to both central and local officials and other individuals. The records of the years 1586 to 1588 show a total of some twenty persons attending the Council meetings at one time or another. But some of these attended only occasionally, and the usual attendance was from eight to ten. Those most often present included Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer; Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor; Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain; Sir Thomas Heneage, Vice Chamberlain; Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household; Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary of State, and John Wolley, Latin Secretary to the Queen. Less regular were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Controller of the Household, the Lord High Admiral (Lord Howard of Effingham) and the Lord Steward. A few other officials and prominent noblemen attended occasionally.

Beginning early in 1586 the Council took measures for providing military supplies, and even authorized the imposition of money levies for this purpose for which there seems to have been no parliamentary authority. In March of this year the

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 Eliz. ch. 5 (1562-3); 13 Eliz. ch. 11; 27 Eliz. ch. 11; 29 Eliz. ch. 5; 31 Eliz. ch. 10.

Council directed the lords lieutenant of the maritime counties to make a collection for the supply of match and powder, to be purchased at a reasonable rate from Henry Dale of London. A special levy was laid on the clergy to furnish horses for service in the Low Countries. County levies were to be raised and trained at local expense; and directions were sent to the lords lieutenant in regard to mobilizing the trained bands.

Orders were issued to provide for the defense of the Channel Islands, the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth. The Sussex iron workers were directed to forge guns. The east coast gentry were instructed to raise contributions for coast ordnance. Seaport towns were required to furnish ships, and rates were levied on other towns, forming a precedent for the later ship money levies of Charles I.

The Council also issued instructions about the expenditure of money. The Treasury was directed to transfer necessary funds to the Treasurer of the Navy; and a grant was made to Kent for the defense of the Thames, Tilbury and Harwich.

Measures were also taken to suppress internal troubles and to regulate trade. The justices of the peace were directed to provide petronels, and also to repress carriers of news, and to look to the landing of spies in the fashion of priests. In December, 1587, word was sent about suspicious visitors from abroad, with instructions to keep watch in the ports and towns, so that they might be apprehended and committed into close prison without bail or conference.[1]

In June, 1586, the reexport of a cargo of imported grain was forbidden. Later the export of grain was prohibited, to be subsequently modified by permitting a limited export to friendly places. Again, in October, 1588, the Lord Chancellor was directed to restrain the transportation of grain beyond the seas, unless by special license.[2] At one time trade with the Low Countries was forbidden and the export of provisions stopped. The Admiralty Court was to sit for the trial of prize cases.

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, 297.
[2] *Ibid.*, xiv, 156, 282; xv, 397; xvi, 321.

In October, 1587, letters were sent to the vice admirals of the maritime counties concerning a general stay to be presently made of all ships and other vessels that are able to cross the seas, to be employed for Her Majesty's service, as occasion should require.[1]

Rumors were received about the approach of the Spanish fleet. Scouting ships were sent out. The Royal fleet was reported to be ready. And after the defeat of the great Armada there were reports and instructions about Spanish prisoners of war.

It will be noted that the activities of the Privy Council included, not only much that later would have required parliamentary authority, but also much that in later times would have been done by specialized administrative officials and departments. This was in part due to the absence of such administrative agencies. Only a few officials and organized departments had been established before this time; and no important developments toward permanent administrative machinery seems to have been made during the war. But even the officials and agencies then in existence seem to have exercised much less autonomous power than now; and the specific orders and instructions in particular cases came in large part from the Council. The management of war administration was thus almost entirely centralized in the hands of what was practically a small committee of eight or ten officials, assisted at times by other officials and prominent members of the nobility.

Wars with France

During the series of wars with France from the end of the seventeenth century the formal authority for war measures was based more largely on, and to a steadily increasing extent conferred by, Acts of Parliament. There was also some development of new administrative agencies. As a result of these two factors the Privy Council was less active as the real source of

[1] *Acts of the Privy Council,* New Series, xv, 254.

official decisions, although it continued to be an agency whose formal action was necessary in many matters. But behind the formal procedure, the effective direction over Acts of Parliament, Orders in Council and the orders and instructions of officials and departments was in fact exercised by a small group of ministers. In the first of this series of wars, the ministers acted largely under the personal leadership of the King, William III. During the eighteenth century, there was a progressive tendency towards a coherent Cabinet. During the greater part of the final contest, the Cabinet of that time was under the active leadership of the younger Pitt.

King William's War

The formal supremacy of Parliament in the government after the Revolution of 1689, and the recognition of the need for parliamentary sanction to war measures, which in the time of Elizabeth would have been taken on the initiative and authority of the Privy Council, may be indicated by noting some of the more important Acts of Parliament in the war which followed the Revolution. In addition to the financial legislation authorizing taxes and expenditures, the following acts were passed from 1689 to 1692:[1]

An Act Impowering His Majestie to Apprehend and Detaine such Persons as He shall find just cause to Suspect are conspiring against the Government.

This authorized persons arrested by order of the Privy Council to be held without bail; and thus suspended the Habeas Corpus Act.

An Act for punishing officers or soldiers who shall Mutiny or Desert their Majesties' Service.

An Act for Renewing a former Act for Regulating the Measures and Price of Coal.

An Act for raising the Militia of the Kingdom, etc.

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, vi: 1 W. and M. ch. 2, 5, 7, 19, 34 (1687); 2 W. and M. ch. 7 (1690); 3 W. and M. ch. 7, 13 (1691); 4 W. and M. ch. 19 (1692).

An Act against corresponding with Their Majesties' Enemies.

An Act for preventing suits against such as acted for Their Majesties' Service in Defense of the Kingdom.

The last of these is of special importance, as indicating on the one hand that measures had been taken without parliamentary authority, but at the same time that parliamentary approval of these acts was now considered necessary to give the officials protection against suits for violating the law.

The Seven Years War

In this war, which involved a large part of Europe, and fighting in India and America, there was another series of important parliamentary statutes, of which the following may be noted:[1]

An Act for the speedy and effectual Recruiting of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines.

An Act to impower his Majesty to prohibit the exportation of Saltpeter, etc.

An Act for the Encouragement of Seamen and the more speedy and effectual Manning of his Majesty's Navy.

An Act to prohibit for a Time to be limited the exportation of Corn, Malt, Meal, Flour, Bread, Biscuit and Starch.

An Act to discontinue for a limited Time the duties upon Corn and Flour imported, etc.

An Act to prohibit . . . the exportation of Corn, Flour . . . Beef, Pork, Bacon and other Victuals (except Fish and Roots and Rice to be exported to any part of Europe Southward of Cape Finisterre) from his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America except to Great Britain or Ireland or to some of said Colonies.

An Act to prohibit for a limited Time the making of Low Wines and Spirits from Wheat, Barley, Malt or any other sort of grain, or from Meal or Flour.

An Act for the better Ordering of the Militia Forces in the Several Counties of . . . England.

[1] *Statutes at Large*, vii, viii: 29 Geo. II, ch. 4, 16, 34 (1756); 30 Geo. II, ch. 1, 7, 9, 10, 25 (1757); 31 Geo. II, ch. 10 (1758); 32 Geo. II, ch. 34 (1759).

An Act for the Encouragement of Seamen employed in the Royal Navy, etc.

An Act for the better preventing the Importation of the Woolen Manufactures of France into any of the Ports of the Levant Sea, by or on behalf of any of His Majesty's Subjects, and for the more effectual preventing the importation of Raw Silk and Mohair Yarn into this Kingdom.

These acts furnish precedents for later and for some recent legislation. They provided more definitely for recruiting the army and navy; established important regulations and restrictions on foreign trade; and prohibited the use of grain for making liquors. It may be noted that the act for recruiting land forces provided for a levy of "such able bodied men as do not follow any lawful calling or employment, or have not some other lawful and sufficient support and maintenance," to serve as soldiers. This act was to be enforced by the justices, borough magistrates and commissioners of the land tax. Provision was made for payments to parish officers, and for a special allowance for men with wife or family.

Pitt's War Legislation

In the last great war with France, which continued with little interruption for more than twenty years, statutory legislation reached its maximum; and this war may be said to have been mainly conducted under Acts of Parliament. During the first decade of this struggle the directing head of the British Government was the younger William Pitt; and the altered position of Parliament is shown by the numerous series of statutes enacted. "Pitt crystallized the Common Law of national defense into statutory form, he extended the Common Law principles to include compulsory purchase of land, he widely extended the militia system, he introduced compulsory service in the navy, he saw to it that Parliament was supreme in war finance." [1]

This does not mean that no use was made of the older forms

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* viii, ch. 124, p. 45.

of public administration. Beginning some years before the war and during the first years of the war, a series of Orders in Council were issued imposing restrictions and regulations on imports and exports, which were not only unauthorized by Act of Parliament but were in conflict with existing legislation. But the need for parliamentary sanction for these orders was recognized by a series of Indemnity Acts for those who had advised or executed them, and authorizing further measures of the same kind.[1]

Other Acts of Parliament also authorized Orders in Council for the regulation of exports and imports. The restriction of cash payments by the Bank was first provided by a Minute of Council (February 26, 1797), afterwards confirmed and continued by Acts of Parliament.[2] Again, in the last decade of the war, another well known series of Orders in Council were issued dealing with neutral trade.[3]

Some indication of the number and scope of the Acts of Parliament passed at this period may be given by noting some of the principal classes of statutes passed. The regulation of foreign trade and intercourse form one important group. In addition to the Acts of Indemnity confirming Orders in Council, dealing mostly with the exports and imports of grain, pot and pearl ashes and rock salt, other acts were passed authorizing restrictions on the export of naval stores, saltpeter, arms and ammunition, candles, tallow, soap, provisions and food; to encourage importations of grain and provisions; to prohibit the importation of cambrics and French lawns; and to regulate trade with the British possessions in India.[4]

Other acts prohibited the circulation of financial obligations issued by French authorities; protected money or property of

[1] *Statutes at Large:* 30 Geo. III, ch. 1 (1790); 31 Geo. III, ch. 42 (1791); 33 Geo. III, ch. 3 (1793); 34 Geo. III, ch. 34 (1794); 35 Geo. III, ch. 15 (1795); 36 Geo. III, ch. 53, 76 (1796).

[2] *Ibid.*, 33 Geo. III, ch. 45, 91; 38 Geo. III, ch. 1 (1797).

[3] Orders of January 7, 1807, November 11, 1807, April 26, 1809, April 21, 1812.

[4] *Statutes at Large:* 33 Geo. III, ch. 2 (1793); 35 Geo. III, ch. 4 (1795); 36 Geo. III, ch. 3, 5, 21 (1795-6); 37 Geo. III, ch. 117 (1797); 41 Geo. III, ch. 2 (1800).

persons in France from the French Government; cut off financial communications with Holland and Switzerland; and forbade British subjects from going to or remaining in France.[1]

Related to these may be noted several acts for the conservation of grain supplies, by prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain and flour; prohibiting the making of starch, hair powder and blue from wheat; permitting, and later requiring bakers to make bread with a larger proportion of bran and by mixing other grains or potatoes with wheat.[2]

Another series of statutes provided for the regulation of aliens and the suppression of internal sedition, conspiracy and treason. An act for establishing regulations respecting aliens, passed in 1793, required masters of vessels to file declarations as to foreigners on board; and required aliens to furnish declarations, to secure passports, to register and surrender arms. The landing and residence of aliens might be restricted by Orders in Council, and the Secretary of State might issue warrants for searching the houses of aliens for weapons.[3]

Legislation against internal dangers included acts to prevent traitorous correspondence with the enemy; to authorize the detention without bail of persons suspected of conspiracy (suspending the Habeas Corpus Act); against treasonable and seditious practices; and for preventing seditious meetings and assemblies.[4] One act authorized the Postmaster General to open and return certain letters held in the post office; and another regulated the printing and publication of newspapers.[5]

Numerous acts were provided for raising revenue. At each session there were several acts authorizing loans by the issue of exchequer bills; and as the war progressed larger loans were

[1] *Ibid.*, 33 Geo. III, ch. 1 (1793); 34 Geo. III, ch. 9, 79 (1794); 38 Geo. III, ch. 28, 45, 79 (1798).
[2] *Ibid.*, 35 Geo. III, ch. 119 (1795); 36 Geo. III, ch. 6, 22 (1795); 41 Geo. III, ch. 16 (1800).
[3] *Ibid.*, 33 Geo. III, ch. 4 (1793), *cf.* 34 Geo. III, ch. 82 (1794); 38 Geo. III, ch. 80 (1798).
[4] *Ibid.*, 33 Geo. III, ch. 27 (1793); 34 Geo. III, ch. 54 (1794); 36 Geo. III, ch. 7, 8, 27 (1795).
[5] *Ibid.*, 35 Geo. III, ch. 62 (1795); 38 Geo. III, ch. 78 (1798).

authorized by means of annuities.[1] Loans made by the British Government to its European allies were confirmed by Acts of Parliament.[2] New and additional taxes were imposed from time to time. An act of 1798 provided for what was practically a graduated income tax on persons with incomes over £60 a year, with a maximum of one-tenth on incomes of £200 and over.[3]

There was also important currency legislation. The banks in Scotland were authorized to issue notes for less than twenty shillings; and, as already noted, a Minute of Council for the restriction of cash payments by the Bank of England was confirmed, and later renewed, by Act of Parliament.[4]

In marked contrast with previous wars, there was a voluminous mass of legislation in regard to the army and navy. In 1795 acts were passed for raising men for the navy by apportionment among the several counties and ports; and authorizing the magistrates to make a levy on able bodied and idle persons for this purpose.[5] Other acts provided for augmenting the militia, for raising volunteer forces, for increasing the artillery corps, and for raising a force of cavalry.[6] The rates of subsistence for quartering soldiers were increased from time to time; and the system of relief to families of men in the militia was readjusted.[7] Acts of 1796 made a definite apportionment by counties of the numbers to be raised for the army as well as the navy.[8]

The Defense of the Realm Act of 1798 practically provided for compulsory service for the army. The county and deputy lieutenants were directed to procure returns of men of 15 years of age and under 60, showing those in the volunteer corps and those willing to be employed in the defense of the country; re-

[1] *Ibid.*, 30 Geo. III, ch. 15 (1790); 34 Geo. III, ch. 1, 21, 28, 29, 62 (1794); 38 Geo. III, ch. 8, 20, 37, 82, 83, 84, 91 (1798).
[2] *Ibid.*, 35 Geo. III, ch. 93 (1795); 37 Geo. III, ch. 59 (1797).
[3] *Ibid.*, 38 Geo. III, ch. 16 (1798).
[4] *Ibid.*, 37 Geo. III, ch. 40, 45, 62, 91; 38 Geo. III, ch. 1, 2 (1797).
[5] *Ibid.*, 35 Geo. III, ch. 5, 9, 34 (1795).
[6] *Ibid.*, 34 Geo. III, ch. 16, 31 (1794); 35 Geo. III, ch. 83 (1795); 37 Geo. III, ch. 3, 6, 22, 103 (1796); 38 Geo. III, ch. 17, 18, 19, 45, 55 (1798).
[7] *Ibid.*, 35 Geo. III, ch. 64, 81 (1795); 36 Geo. III, ch. 36 (1796); 38 Geo. III, ch. 32 (1798).
[8] *Ibid.*, 37 Geo. III, ch. 4, 5 (1796).

turns of Quakers, aliens and infirm persons, and returns of available boats, wagons, horses and provisions. If there were not sufficient volunteers, the militia laws for compulsory service were to be put in force. Requisitions on the largest scale were authorized; and the principle of compulsory occupation and purchase of necessary land by the government was introduced.[1]

Other acts of this year suspended the restrictions on impressment for the navy, and provided for raising a force of miners in Cornwall and Devon for the defense of the country.[2]

Administrative Agencies

Along with the great expansion of parliamentary legislation during the eighteenth century wars, another important change in war methods was the increasing development of administrative authorities. Neither in the voluminous statutes of Pitt's régime, nor in the Orders in Council which were issued do we find anything to correspond with the specific orders and instructions of the Privy Council in the time of Queen Elizabeth. These were now issued by the various administrative officials, departments and subordinate agencies which had been established from time to time; and some of the more important authorities may here be noted.

The office of Lord High Admiral had been placed in commission; and in addition to the Admiralty Board there were other agencies for naval administration, notably the Navy Board and the Victualing Board. The office of Lord High Treasurer was also in commission; and the Treasury Board during the eighteenth century was an active administrative agency. The principal Secretary of State, who in the reign of Elizabeth had been little more than a ministerial agent of the Privy Council, had become one of the first officials of the kingdom; and during the eighteenth century there were two, and for a time, three, Secretaries of State.

[1] *Ibid.*, 38 Geo. III, ch. 27 (1798).
[2] *Ibid.*, 38 Geo. III, ch. 46, 74 (1798).

Colonial and trade affairs were looked after to a considerable extent by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, the predecessor of the later Board of Trade. Army administration was still but little developed; but the subordinate office of Secretary for War had been established and exercised some administrative powers.

But the active control over the formal machinery of Acts of Parliament, Orders in Council and orders and instructions of administrative officials was exercised by the group of ministers, developing into the extra-legal body known as Cabinet. This body was in fact the agency which corresponded to the Privy Council of Queen Elizabeth's day. Bills for parliamentary statutes were drawn up under its direction, and passed by Parliament and approved by the King. Orders in Council were decided by the same group. The administrative officials and departments also acted under the general directions and influence of the Cabinet.

In several respects, however, the Cabinet of the eighteenth century differed from the Privy Council of the sixteenth century. It was not only an extra-legal body, but as such had no official record of its proceedings, so that no definite account of its meetings and decisions is available. At the same time, the ministers who formed the Cabinet became more and more responsible to Parliament, and practically to the House of Commons. This responsibility was not clearly recognized at the end of the seventeenth century; but it became more definite after the resignation of Walpole in 1742; and the great mass of statutory legislation in the time of Pitt is an indication that the form of parliamentary action was now needed to confirm the important decisions of the group of executive officials.

CHAPTER II

Forms and Agencies of Action

Introductory

In the conduct of the present war there have been startling developments and contrasts in the forms and agencies of governmental action by Great Britain, as compared both with peace conditions and with the methods and machinery employed in former wars. In the contest with Spain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the management both of the war and the internal administration of the country was exercised chiefly, and almost entirely, by the Privy Council. There was no parliamentary legislation, except for the levy of new taxes; and there were few specialized administrative officials or other agencies of the central government. In later wars parliamentary legislation increased both in amount and importance; and there was also some development of central administrative machinery. In the time of the younger Pitt, parliamentary action reached its maximum; and there was a voluminous and bewildering mass of statutory legislation. There was also a larger use of specialized administrative officials; and the Privy Council was relatively a much less important factor than either at earlier times or in the present war. At the same time, the active control and direction of the government was in fact exercised by the extra-legal Cabinet, under the forceful leadership of Pitt, the Prime Minister.

In the present war both the Privy Council and Parliament played an active part in the conduct of affairs. The subservience of the Council to Parliament was in theory, beyond doubt, but in fact the members of the Council exercised a controlling force in the deliberations of Parliament, a reversion to the Elizabethan model which was hardly accompanied by the same tenacity of administration or grasp of the essential features of the problem.[1]

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* viii, p. 47.

This is an eclectic age, and there is hardly a possible form of legislative activity to which the Government of Great Britain had not to resort in order rapidly to create an economic screen between the nation and the war zone and at the same time to carry on the war with efficiency. It was necessary not only to secure success in the field and on the seas, but also to preserve a national life immune from social and economic disturbance. Legislative methods employed were both remarkable and complex.[1]

Acts of Parliament have been numerous—more so than at any time except that of Pitt—and the legal supremacy of the King in Parliament has been formally recognized by securing such legislation for most of the unusual powers, at least in internal affairs. But, besides the actual control exercised by the Cabinet in the formulation of statutes, these measures have been for the most part brief and have granted sweeping authority in the broadest terms, leaving to Orders in Council and departmental regulations much of what a century ago would have been found in the statutes themselves.

Royal Proclamations and Orders in Council have been much greater in number and more important in content than at any previous time—more even than in the days of Elizabeth. To a large extent these have been issued under the express authority of Acts of Parliament, old and new; but there has also been a significant revival of these forms of action based on the unwritten, prerogative and common law powers of the ancient constitution.

But in addition to this return to the practices of earlier times, there has also been a new and remarkable development of administration through specialized departments, officials and other agencies.

The progress of the war is affecting deeply our administrative organization. It has imposed new duties on many of the old established departments and has directed their energies on lines which may conduce to the more efficient conduct of the war. The Home Office, the Board of Trade, the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, and even the Board of Education have been considerably affected as regards their policy and procedure. Economies have been made on normal services and new functions have been undertaken to meet requirements which the war has made urgent.[2]

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* viii, p. 49.
[2] *The Political Quarterly,* No. 7 (1916), p. 148.

As a result of these new functions and the formation of new governmental agencies, there has been a remarkable increase in the volume and importance of departmental regulations.

Forms of Action

Acts of Parliament

Between the declaration of war with Germany (on August 4, 1914) and the end of the regular session (on September 18), no less than 37 Acts of Parliament of various kinds were passed and received the Royal Assent. The number of these is of itself an indication that the examination and discussion in Parliament was obviously formal and perfunctory. It is true that most of the bills were brief; but they were brief mainly because they gave wide powers to the executive to do whatever seemed expedient. "The Houses may be said to have agreed to a sort of *Ultimum senatusconsultum: videant consules.*" [1]

First may be noted the financial measures. A vote of credit for £100,000,000 authorized expenditure for any war purpose, without specification or estimate; and was followed by other and larger votes. An act to authorize the postponement of payments established a temporary moratorium; a currency and bank notes act provided for the issue of paper bank notes; and later a grant of emergency powers to the courts was preliminary to the termination of the general moratorium. Other acts dealt with the treatment of alien enemies and gave broad powers over persons and property for the defense of the realm. There were acts for the control of foreign trade, trading with the enemy and the hoarding of supplies. An increase of 1,000,000 men in the army was authorized; and provision was made for prize courts.

Many of the emergency acts were departmental measures protecting those who entered active service from being penalized for this action. Special provisions were made to permit police constables and school teachers to join the army. The Insurance

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, i, 162 (1914).

Act was adapted to meet the case of those serving temporarily with the army and navy. Other measures provided for the relief of those dependent on the combatants. There was some opposition to the measures authorizing restrictions on the sale of intoxicating liquors and for the prevention of trading with the enemy; but no important changes were made in the bills as presented.

At the adjourned session of Parliament in November, additional measures were passed, including the amendment and revision of the acts for the defense of the realm, providing compensation for injuries in war, and placing restrictions on exports, and the finance act providing means for raising funds for carrying on the war.

During the sessions of 1915, some fifty war emergency Acts of Parliament were passed. The most important, as involving novel legislative principles and administrative agencies, were those establishing the new Ministry of Munitions, regulating the production of munitions of war, providing for a general system of national registration, limiting the price of coal, and restricting the increase of rent and mortgage interest. In addition there were statutes amending, revising and supplementing the previous legislation relating to the defense of the realm (including the control of the liquor traffic), the control of foreign trade, trading with enemy, the system of compensation and pensions for men in the armed forces, the national insurance system, and war loans and other financial measures. The laws relating to the exemption of trusts and evidence were amended; and emergency powers were given to universities and colleges. Moreover, the duration of the House of Commons (which should have expired under the Parliament Act of 1911 in 1915) was extended; the reelection of ministers after changes in the Cabinet was dispensed with, and local elections were postponed.

In 1916, the most significant Acts of Parliament were those providing for compulsory military service and (in December) those creating new ministries. There was also additional legislation amending the defense of the realm acts, and granting

new emergency powers to courts and local authorities, as well as on other subjects.

During 1917 acts were passed creating other new ministries, also a Corn Production Act. Altogether 76 government bills were introduced, of which 67 became law and 9 failed to pass.

The enlarging volume of parliamentary legislation may be indicated by noting the increased number of acts. During the three years (1911-1913) before the war, there was passed a total of 133 public acts. In the three years (1914-1916) since the war, the number of public acts has been 267, or double the number for the previous three years. In practically all of this legislation the action of Parliament has been substantially that of passing the measures presented by the executive government, conferring with little or no hesitation the enormous powers asked. Indeed the principal criticism made of the Cabinet, up to the end of 1916, was of its hesitation and delay in asking for legislative authority. In one important case, when the proposal for the second compulsory military service bill was first presented, the dissatisfaction in Parliament with its limited scope led to its withdrawal (without a formal vote) and the presentation of a more sweeping measure.

It is significant of the relations that had come to exist between the Cabinet and Parliament (even before the war), that any indication of dissatisfaction in Parliament with government bills presented was discussed as an evidence of the weakness of the Cabinet. It was assumed not only that the Cabinet should present definite proposals for legislation, but that the Cabinet proposals should as a matter of course be enacted, and if these proposals were not acceptable the fault was necessarily with the Cabinet. Thus the conventional fiction that the Cabinet is controlled by Parliament has broken down.

On the other hand there has been a notable absence of "Acts of Indemnity," which formed a striking feature of Pitt's war legislation. Practically all of the enormous powers exercised by the executive authorities seem to have been based on parliamentary legislation or on recognized common law powers; and

there has apparently been little need for dispensing legislation to protect the executive officers for technical violations of the law.

The list below presents some of the more important Acts of Parliament passed during the present war:

		4 and 5 George V.	*1914*
Chapter	11	Postponement of Payments Act	Aug. 3
	12	Aliens Restriction Act	Aug. 5
	13	Prize Courts (Procedure) Act	Aug. 5
	14	Currency and Bank Notes Act	Aug. 6
	72	Amended Aug. 28	
	29	Defense of the Realm Act	Aug. 8
		————. Consolidation Act	Nov. 27
	30	Injuries in War (Compensation) Act	Aug. 10
	18	New Act	Nov. 27
	64	Customs (Exportation Prohibition) Act	Aug. 28
	2	————. (Exportations Restrictions) Act	Nov. 27
	60	War Loan Act	Aug. 28
	61	Special Constables Act	Aug. 28
	62	Isle of Man (War Legislation) Act	.....
	77	Intoxicating Liquor (Temporary Restrictions) Act	Aug. 31
	78	Courts (Emergency Powers) Act	Aug. 31
	79	Prize Courts (Egypt, Zanzibar and Cyprus) Act	Sept. 18
	83	Army Pension Act	Sept. 18
	82	Bills of Exchange Act	Sept. 18
	84	Irish Police Constables (Naval and Military Service) Act	.....
	88	Suspensory Act	Sept. 18
	80	Police Constables (Naval and Military Service) Act	Sept. 18
	87	Trading with the Enemy Act	Sept. 18
	12	————. Amending Act.	Nov. 27
	11	Government War Obligations Act	Nov. 27
	7	Finance Act, 1914. Session 2.	Nov. 27

		5 and 6 George V.	*1915–16*
Chapter	34; 37; 42	Defense of the Realm (Amendment) Acts	Mch. 16, May 19
	31; 71	Customs (War Powers) Acts	Mch. 16, July 29
	52	———— (Exportation Restrictions) Act	June 24
	27	National Insurance (Pt. II Amendment) Act	Mch. 16
	36	Legal Proceedings against Enemies Act	Mch. 16
	30; 73	Naval Discipline Acts	Mch. 16, July 29
	22	Universities and Colleges (Emergency Powers) Act	Mch. 16
	21	British Ships (Transfer Restriction) Act	Mch. 16
	41	Police (Emergency Provisions) Act	May 19
	50	Reelection of Ministers Act	June 4
	51	Ministry of Munitions Act	June 9
	54	Munitions of War Act	July 2
	57	Prize Courts Act	July 2
	60	War Loan Act	July 2
		Supplemental Provision	Dec. 23
	60	National Registration Act	July 15
	76	Elections and Registration Act	July 29

	5 and 6 George V.	*1915–16*
Chapter 75	Price of Coal (Limitation) Act	July 29
79	Trading with the Enemy (Amendment) Act	July 29
98	Extension of Powers	Dec. 23
62	Finance Act	July 29
89	No. 2.	Dec. 23
81	American Loan Act	Oct. 13
83	Naval and Military War Pensions Act	Nov. 10
97	Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest (War Restrictions) Act	Dec. 23
96	Government War Obligations Act	Dec. 23
104	Military Service Act	Jan. 27

	6 and 7 George V.	*1916*
Chapter 11; 24	Finance Acts	April 19
12	Local Government (Emergency Provisions) Act	May 17
13; 18	Courts (Emergency Powers) Amendment Acts	May 17, June 1
15	Military Service Act (Session 2)	May 25
26; 57	Output of Beer (Restriction) Acts	Aug. 3, Dec. 18
33	Army (Courts of Inquiry) Act	Aug. 10
34	Special Commission (Dardanelles and Mesopotamia) Act	.....
43	War Charities Act	Aug. 23
63	Defense of the Realm (Acquisition of Land) Act	Dec. 22
65	Ministry of Pensions Act	Dec. 22
68	New Ministries and Secretaries Act	Dec. 22
67	War Loan Act	Dec. 22

7 and 8 George V. *1917–18*

War Pensions Act
Ministry of National Service Act
New Ministries Act (Reconstruction)
Military Service (Review of Exceptions) Act
Naval and Military War Pensions Acts
Munitions of War Act
Corn Production Act
Coal Mines Control Agreement (Confirmation) Act
Grand Juries (Suspension) Act
Courts (Emergency Powers) Act No. 2
Representation of the People Act

Royal Proclamations and Orders in Council

More numerous and more detailed than the Acts of Parliament have been the executive orders and regulations of the first rank issued in the form of Royal Proclamations and Orders in Council. No clear line of demarcation can be made between these two forms of procedure, as both have been used for substantially similar purposes. As an indication of the extent to which these forms of action have been used, it may be noted that between August 1 and September 30, 1914, there were

issued 27 Royal Proclamations and more than 30 Orders in Council.[1] Since then, from time to time, many additional proclamations and Orders in Council have been issued.

Several types of these executive acts may be recognized. In the first place, there were proclamations issued under the Royal prerogative, without statutory authority and without even the formal approval of the Privy Council. Examples of these were the proclamations of August 3, authorizing the Admiralty to requisition British ships, and that of August 5, proclaiming the giving of financial assistance to the enemy to be high treason and announcing that traitors would be proceeded against with the utmost rigor of the law. Neither of these was confirmed or ratified by later Act of Parliament or the Privy Council.

Still more sweeping was the Royal Proclamation of August 4, asserting the prerogative power to take all measures necessary for the public safety and the defense of the realm, and authorizing the Admiralty and Army Council to take such steps as they deemed necessary for this purpose. But before much could have been done under this proclamation the first Defense of the Realm Act was passed by Parliament (August 8) authorizing regulation by Orders in Council for the same purpose; and further action was taken under this statutory authority.

Another type was the Royal Proclamations and Orders issued, also without express statutory authority, but by and with the advice of the Privy Council. In this category may be noted the proclamation of August 2 authorizing the postponement of payments and that of August 5, prohibiting trading with the enemy. Both of these were confirmed by subsequent Acts of Parliament. Orders in Council of the same class include that of August 3, calling reserved and retired army and navy officers to active service; that of August 4, for the detention of German ships in British ports; that of August 5, authorizing the Admiralty to constitute a prize court; and that of August 20, adopting the rules of the Declaration of London with certain modifications. Such Orders in Council, dealing directly with the conduct of

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* pp. 557, 563.

military operations and enemy property, have in the past been regularly made without statutory authority. As the war progressed, additional Orders in Council of this class were issued from time to time, dealing with contraband, blockade and the regulation of neutral trade. It should be noted, however, that in the *Zamora* case, the Admiralty Court held that such Orders in Council, not based on Acts of Parliament, were subject to the established rules of international law. More notable was an Order of August 28, canceling so much of a Royal Proclamation of September 17, 1900, as related to the distribution of the net proceeds of naval prizes.

Another illustration was given of the reserved powers of the British Crown, by an Order in Council of April 13, 1915, authorizing and directing the Ministers of Trade and Customs in Australia and the Minister of Customs in New Zealand to requisition insulated spaces in British ships trading between Australia or New Zealand and the United Kingdom. The Royal authority was here asserted to control the actions of ministers of two self-governing dominions, without the intervention of the Dominion Parliament or the Dominion Cabinet.

> It was a valuable instance of the fact that the prerogative powers of the Crown, so far from being exhausted, were still in 1915 of vast economic use in speedily arranging intercolonial affairs and concentrating the whole available forces of the Empire on any special or urgent problem.[1]

Much more numerous than either or both of the foregoing classes were the Royal Proclamations and Orders in Council issued under the authority of Acts of Parliament. Of these, it is advisable to distinguish between those issued under earlier legislation and those issued under statutes passed during the present war.

Thus, on August 3, three Royal Proclamations were issued: one calling out the naval reserve, under the Royal Naval Reserve Volunteer Act of 1841; one prohibiting the exportation of warlike stores, under the Customs and Inland Revenue Act

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, viii, p. 53.

of 1879; and one declaring August 4, 5 and 6 to be Bank Holidays, under the Bank Holidays Act of 1871. A proclamation of August 4 called out the army reserve and territorial force, under the Reserve Forces Act of 1882 and the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act of 1907. Other proclamations were issued on August 5, 10 and 20, under the Customs and Inland Revenue Act of 1879.

So, too, an Order in Council of August 4, provided for taking control of the railroads by the government, as authorized by the Regulation of the Forces Act of 1871; and an Order in Council of August 5, established prize court rules under the Prize Court Act of 1894.

On the basis of new parliamentary war legislation there was issued a proclamation under the Currency and Bank Notes Act, and on September 17, a proclamation under the Articles of Commerce (Returns, etc.) Act authorizing the Board of Trade to take possession of supplies of any articles of commerce which were being unreasonably withheld from the market.

More numerous were the detailed regulations established by Orders in Council under the Aliens Restriction and the Defense of the Realm Acts. The orders first issued on August 5 and 12, were amended and added to from time to time. An Aliens Restriction (Consolidation) Order was issued September 9, and a Defense of the Realm Regulations (Consolidation) Order on November 28. These in turn have been frequently amended and supplemented, and at intervals new consolidation orders have been issued. Other illustrations of Orders in Council based on new legislation were those of September 30, 1914, amending the Prize Court Rules and providing for prize courts in Egypt, Zanzibar and Cyprus.

Many of the Orders in Council are comparatively brief; but some of the more important are extended and detailed lists of regulations. Thus the Aliens Restriction (Consolidation) Order, 1916, covers 32 pages; and the Defense of the Realm (Consolidation) Order, 1917, covers 82 pages.

Royal Proclamations and Orders issued by and with the ad-

vice of the Privy Council are dated from Buckingham Palace, and are supposed to be formally adopted or approved at a meeting of the Council where the King is personally present, with or without nominated councilors. But the public announcements do not show what persons were present. Royal Proclamations are signed in the name of His Majesty. Orders in Council are signed by the Clerk of the Council (Almeric Fitzroy).

Even less is publicly known as to who are in fact responsible for these Royal Proclamations and Orders in Council. Under the usual practice of the British Government, they are presumed to have been approved by the Cabinet. But until the formation of the Lloyd George War Cabinet in December, 1916, there was no official record of Cabinet proceedings; and the records of the new Cabinet have not been published. It seems probable that for many of the Proclamations and Orders in Council there has been little or no detailed discussion in the Cabinet. There has been a committee on the defense of the realm regulations, which may be assumed to have had a good deal to do with formulating these regulations. In other cases the rules and regulations have been drafted by subordinate officials within a particular department, and presented to the Cabinet on the responsibility of one of the ministers.

Orders of Council

In addition to the Royal Proclamations and Orders issued by and with the advice of the Privy Council there have also been Orders of the Privy Council, dated from the Council Chambers at Whitehall, formally adopted at council meetings at which His Majesty was not present. These Orders of Council have in all cases been issued under statutory authority to carry out the recommendations of a government department; and have dealt with the regulation of foreign trade.

Thus the Customs (Exportation Prohibition) Act, 1914,[1] amending section 8 of the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, au-

[1] 4-5 Geo. V, c. 64. August 28, 1914.

thorizing the prohibition of exports, provided that any proclamation or Order in Council made under this section may, while a state of war exists, be amended or added to by an order made by the Lords of the Council on the recommendation of the Board of Trade. Under this act, an Order of Council of August 28, 1914, extended the proclamations of August 3, 5 and 10, (issued under the act of 1879) to all articles during the war. Other Orders of Council of September 1, 8, 11, 25 and later made further amendments to these proclamations, withdrawing and adding to the list of articles export of which was prohibited.[1]

Under a later Act of Parliament, Orders of Council were issued prohibiting trade with specified business firms in neutral countries, because of connections with enemy merchants.

Orders of His Majesty

Another class of official acts have been orders issued in the name of His Majesty, without the formal advice or approval of the Privy Council. These have to do with less important matters than those covered by Royal Proclamations or Orders in Council; and these Royal Orders have in all cases been issued under the authority of Acts of Parliament.

Thus, in accordance with provisions of the Army Act, such orders were issued on August 4, 1914, authorizing general or field officers to issue billeting requisitions, and to issue requisitions of emergency for carriages, animals, vessels and aircraft. Another similar order of August 10, extended the authority to issue requisitions of emergency to include food, forage and stores of every description.

While these orders were issued in the name of His Majesty, they were not even formally signed by the King; but all of those above mentioned were issued under the signature of Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War.

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* 1914, p. 558.

Departmental Orders and Regulations

Most numerous of all have been the orders and regulations issued by and in the name of the various government departments. With apparently only one exception, such departmental orders and regulations have been based on statutory authority, or authorized by Orders in Council. In the early days of the war, a number were issued on the authority of previously existing legislation; but the greater number have been issued under the provisions of the new war legislation.

Thus, on August 1, 1914, the Postmaster General, under the Wireless Telegraphy (Foreign Ships) Regulations, 1908, made by him under the Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1904, having been informed by the Home Office that an emergency had arisen, gave public notice that the use of wireless telegraphy on board foreign ships in British waters should be subject to rules to be issued by the Admiralty Board. So, too, on August 2, 1914, the Home Office, as authorized by the Aerial Navigation Acts of 1911 and 1913, prohibited the navigation of aircraft.

Among the department regulations issued under new statutes may be noted the general orders under the Defense of the Realm acts and food orders issued by the Food Controller. These and others are noted in later chapters of this report.

An important exception to the almost universal rule that such departmental orders were based on statutory authority was a Treasury Order of January 14, 1915, forbidding the issue of new capital under the Companies Acts without the consent of the Treasury. The issuance of this order in this way has, however, been severely criticized.

> This order, which was tolerated by a puzzled financial world as being, in the whole necessary and desirable, was, in fact, totally illegal, and it obtained its sanction, if sanction it could be called, in a most curious way. By the Stock Exchange Loan scheme, formulated by the Treasury on October 31, 1914, the Stock Exchange agreed with the Treasury not to reopen without the consent and only upon the conditions agreed to by the Treasury. Under the regulations issued in pursuance of this purely private agreement dealings in new issues were dependent on Treasury approval, and so the Treasury was

in a position to check the issue of new capital by forbidding quotations on the London Stock Exchange.

The fact that by the Government War Obligations Act, 1914, advances to members of the Stock Exchange by the Bank of England were covered by a statutory guarantee may be said, in a sense, to have justified the order, but, even in war time, it would have been better to have kept within the limits of a very elastic constitutional system, and not to have relied on the dispensing power of a legislative authority which tended to become restive under a process of delegation of powers which in the early decades of the twentieth century tended to reach a limit beyond which the wit of man could scarcely be expected to go.

. . . The issue of new capital at the time required, no doubt, regulation, but that regulation should have been made by Order in Council under the Defense of the Realm Act.[1]

Agencies of Action

In addition to the increased activity of the older departments and officials, there has also been a startling development in the formation of new governmental agencies. For the first two years of the war, these were for the most part in the form of special committees and commissions. A host of these (more than 400) have been established, for one purpose and another. Many have been of an ephemeral character, for some immediate investigation and report. Others have been more lasting, some only as advisory bodies, but a number have been vested with executive and administrative authority.

The vast expansion in the scope of governmental action has further led to important internal reorganization in some of the older departments, and the creation of new divisions and sections—not to mention the enormous increase in the number of officials, both central and local, and the staff employed.

In addition to all this, great and novel developments have taken place outside of the older departments of the government. This new stage in the development of war administration was begun by the creation, in 1915, of the War Trade Department, the Ministry of Munitions, and the Board of Control for the Liquor Traffic. Further steps in the same direction were taken, at the end of 1916, by the establishment of the new Min-

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* viii, pp. 53-54.

istries of Food Control, Shipping Control, Pensions, Labor, Blockade, and the Air Board; and to these were added, in 1917, new departments of National Service and Reconstruction.

Still more significant has been the change, which has well been called a revolution, in the central organ of control of the British Government, the Cabinet. Before the war there had been established a Cabinet committee on imperial defense, which soon after the beginning of the contest became a war committee. This was reorganized towards the end of 1915 into a smaller War Council, for directing the active conduct of the war under the supervision of the Cabinet. In the reorganization of the government when Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, in December, 1916, both the War Council and the old Cabinet were replaced by a new War Cabinet of five members. The composition of this body and its relations to the Ministry and to Parliament show vital and fundamental differences from the former established conventions of the British constitution.

A further, and perhaps even more important, development took place early in 1917. At the time of a special Imperial War Conference of representatives of the British Government and the Dominions and India, there was also held a series of meetings of what was publicly called an Imperial War Cabinet, comprising the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, with the other members of the new War Cabinet and the ministers most directly concerned with imperial affairs, and also the Prime Ministers of most of the self-governing Dominions and representatives from India. It was decided to continue this Imperial Cabinet as a permanent feature of the government of the "Imperial Commonwealth."

All of these remarkable changes in the organization of British war administration will be examined in more detail in later sections of this report. But it is of special importance to note here that both of the last mentioned and most radical reconstructions of the governmental system—the formation of the War Cabinet and the Imperial Cabinet—have been accomplished, in peculiarly British fashion, by an entirely informal and extra-legal

process. No Act of Parliament has been passed, and no Order in Council or Royal Proclamation has been issued, establishing or even announcing the new machinery of government. The existence of the new War Cabinet may be ascribed to the decision of Lloyd George, in the process of constituting the new government, and the change was accomplished when the new ministers accepted their posts and Parliament silently acquiesced in the result, announced in the Prime Minister's first speech to the House of Commons. In the formation of the Imperial Cabinet, the new body itself decided that it should be a permanent institution; and public announcement was first made, not by or at any legalized governmental institution, but at a social function—a dinner to the delegates attending the Imperial Conference.

Nevertheless, the new institutions are related in fact to one of the oldest parts of the formal machinery of the British Government. The members of the new War Cabinet and the new Imperial Cabinet are all members of the King's Privy Council; and these new bodies will thus have the same basis as the old Cabinet as an informal and extra-legal committee of the Council.

From this outline, it should be recognized that the broad question of the effect of the war on the British machinery of public administration is one that well deserves close study and investigation. Many of the changes may prove but temporary, and after the war a return to older methods and practices may be anticipated. Even these are worthy of attention as important events in one of the most stupendous crises in history. But some of the new arrangements, and among them probably the most fundamental, are likely to leave a permanent impress on the British Government, and to form landmarks in the development of its constitution and of political and administrative organization throughout the world.

CHAPTER III

The Cabinet

During the progress of the war there have been a remarkable series of developments in the British Cabinet and Ministry, involving not only many changes of personnel but also fundamental alterations in the constitution of the Cabinet and its relations to Parliament.

The Liberal Cabinet

At the outbreak of the war a Liberal Cabinet was in office, with the Right Honorable Henry H. Asquith as Prime Minister. But the position of this Cabinet differed from that of the conventional description of British institutions, in that the Liberal party did not have a majority in the House of Commons. Indeed the two leading parties—Liberals and Unionists—were practically equal in numbers. But the Liberal Cabinet was ordinarily supported by the minor parties, the Irish Nationalists and the Labor members.

Several Cabinet changes took place on the declaration of war. The Prime Minister was temporarily serving as Secretary of State for War; and this position was promptly given to Lord Kitchener, the best known military commander in the country, but a man without experience as a Cabinet member or in active political work, and not identified with any political party. This appointment involved a departure from established customs in two respects—in admitting to the Cabinet a nonparty member, and in placing a military officer at the head of the War Office.

At the same time two members of the Cabinet and one undersecretary resigned, because of their objection to taking an active part in the conduct of war. These were Viscount Morley, Lord President of the Council; John Burns, President of the Local

Government Board, and C. P. Trevelyan, Under-Secretary of the Board of Education.

Outside of the ministry, J. Ramsay MacDonald resigned his position as chairman of the parliamentary Labor party, because his views on war were in conflict with the attitude of his party in supporting the war policy of the government.

While the Cabinet remained substantially a Liberal Cabinet, a party truce was promptly agreed to, on the basis of postponing action on controversial party questions. A letter from Bonar Law, leader of the Opposition Unionists, to the Prime Minister, assuring him of the support of his party, was published. The customary methods of parliamentary opposition and criticism in the House of Commons were thus suspended; and for some months the chief and almost the only parliamentary criticism of the government was that voiced by individual members in the House of Lords.

Under these conditions a large amount of emergency legislation was rapidly passed in the six weeks between the declaration of war and the adjournment of the regular session on September 18; and this was further supplemented at an adjourned session later in the year 1914, and at the sessions in the following years.

Early in the session of 1915, action was taken which emphasized the control of the Cabinet over the proceedings in Parliament. On February 3 the government proposed a resolution taking the whole time of the House of Commons for its measures until further notice.

> This drastic proceeding was accepted almost as a matter of course. But it deserves to be noted as a prominent landmark in parliamentary history. For though the so-called "parliamentary initiative" has often fallen into practical desuetude, this is probably the first occasion in the history of any Parliament in which it has been formally surrendered for an indefinite period.[1]

Another significant change in procedure at this session was that the enormous votes of credit for war purposes now ab-

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 6 (May, 1915), pp. 146, 163.

sorbed the ordinary estimates for the army and navy. In every previous war, including the Napoleonic wars, the votes of credit have represented roughly the difference between war expenditure and normal peace expenditure. But the army and navy estimates were now dispensed with altogether, except for "token" estimate of £1,000 for each vote and £100 for each appropriation in aid, as a matter of form; and both normal and abnormal expenditures were to be met out of votes of credit.[1]

As the session of 1915 continued, evidence of uneasiness and dissatisfaction appeared both inside and outside of Parliament. The Cabinet still received general support, and there was no open attempt to force its retirement. But the policy of the Cabinet lacked stability and certainty. "Where the people looked for leadership, they found the old inclination to wait and see."[2]

> In the all important matter of munitions, the government confused and irritated the House by alternate complacency and panic; in the matter of liquor they embarked on an ill-considered venture, which led to inglorious surrender; in the matter of alien enemies they were forced into a reversal of policy by popular effervescence. These mishaps did not bring about the change of government, but they went far to convince the doubtful that a change was inevitable.[3]

The resignation of Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, on May 15, brought to light the internal difficulties of the government; and helped to precipitate the crisis.

No formal action in Parliament preceded the change of government; and what took place in private and informal conferences will not be fully known for some time. But it has been understood that the Unionist leaders informed Mr. Asquith that they could no longer maintain their attitude of restraining criticism unless important changes were made. As an outcome, a reorganization of the Cabinet was agreed to, Mr. Asquith remaining as Prime Minister, but with the admission of a number of Unionist and Labor members, forming a Coalition Cabi-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147.
[2] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, v, ch. 90, p. 319.
[3] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 7 (March, 1916), p. 122.

net. The Irish Nationalists were also offered representation; but declined to serve so long as Home Rule for Ireland was not put into effect.

The Coalition Cabinet

When formally constituted the new Coalition Cabinet consisted of twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, one Labor member and Lord Kitchener, a total of twenty-two members, an increase of two over the old Cabinet. The new positions were the newly created Minister of Munitions and Lord Lansdowne, as minister without portfolio. Unionists were assigned to a number of important departments: A. J. Balfour became First Lord of the Admiralty; Bonar Law, Secretary for the Colonies; Austen Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India; W. H. Long, President of the Local Government Board; and Sir Edward Carson, Attorney General. The Liberal members were shifted to different posts: Lloyd George was transferred to the new Ministry of Munitions; Reginald McKenna became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Home Affairs; Lord Buckmaster, Lord Chancellor; Lord Crewe, President of the Council; Lord Selborne, President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries; and Winston Churchill was given the sinecure post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In February, 1916, an addition was made to the Cabinet by creating a new Ministry of Blockade.

A Coalition Cabinet of this kind was something new in British political history. There have been Coalition Cabinets before; but they had been only partial, and none had gone to the extent of absorbing nearly all the chief political leaders of the different parties, representing 88 per cent of the House of Commons, and thus eliminating the organized opposition. Mr. Asquith, writing to the Chief Liberal Whip, said of the new arrangements:

> The transformation implies a temporary abandonment of the system of party government which has ever since 1832 dominated our political arrange-

ments and which I hold to be, under normal conditions, the best adapted to our national requirements. . . . There is one reason and one only which could justify or explain such a new departure—a clear and urgent case of national necessity.[1]

The general result was, however, called by one writer a combination of Front Bench politicians rather than a national Cabinet in the wider sense. But the same critic considered it a definite and most necessary step in replacing party government by a government for war. It was undoubtedly stronger than the preceding Liberal Cabinet; but it was "too much to expect that it would show itself permanently more efficient than its predecessor." Its membership "was limited to the politicians, and party considerations were still the basis of its composition;" and "it was likely to suffer, even more than its predecessor from its own unwieldy bulk, which necessarily hampered the swift decisions of a Cabinet in time of war." [2]

Such a sweeping reconstruction of the Cabinet and Ministry, under the established law and practice, would have necessitated a considerable number of bye-elections, to permit the newly appointed ministers to retain their seats in the House of Commons. But as there was general agreement that it was inadvisable to hold elections, an act was passed suspending the law which prevented members of the House from accepting office.

Later, as the statutory limit for the duration of the House of Commons, under the Parliament Act of 1911, approached, a bill was introduced and passed extending the life of the existing House for a few months; and similar measures have subsequently been enacted from time to time, so as to avoid a parliamentary election during the war. Local elections have also been suspended in the same way.

The Coalition Cabinet promptly gave evidence of a more energetic policy, in measures for the creation of the new Ministry of Munitions and the Munitions of War Act, and in the administrative conduct of the war. But disappointments as to the suc-

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, v, ch. 90, p. 316.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 320.

cessful progress of both military and diplomatic affairs led to gradually increasing dissatisfaction and criticism. Paradoxically the disappearance of any formally organized opposition was followed by more openly expressed opposing, not enough to be formidable, but troublesome guerilla attacks, from a small group of doctrinaire Radicals and avowed Socialists. Moreover the growing feeling of unrest was much broader than the avowed opposition.

It was urged that the Coalition Government was defective because of the size of the Cabinet, its composition, and the character of the Prime Minister. Members of all parties acknowledged that the Cabinet was too large for the most effective action. "A body of 23 men of very unequal ability, tired by their departmental labors, and meeting every few days for a couple of hours, was, indeed, an impossible machinery for making war." [1] As early as September, 1915, the London *Times* advocated a smaller Cabinet, meeting every day, and relieved from departmental detail.

In fact the traditional working of the British Cabinet system had already been altered in important respects. The public suspected that specific problems were referred formally to Cabinet committees and that the active direction of affairs was in the hands of a small group within the Cabinet. But there was no definite knowledge of the extent of the control of the Cabinet over its committees or over the *de facto* directing group.

The War Committee

On November 2, 1915, the Prime Minister announced that since the beginning of the war there had been something like fifty different committees and advisory bodies formed out of the Cabinet, though sometimes with outside assistance. Of special importance had been a fluctuating body to which, by the consent of the Cabinet, questions of state and questions of strategy had been delegated. This War Committee was now

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* x, ch. 163, p. 328.

to be established on a more formal basis and to be limited to five or six members, including the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for War, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Minister of Munitions, the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This committee should have a staff of naval, military and diplomatic advisers and have the general direction of war measures. The Cabinet at large was to be kept informed of its decisions and to be consulted before any new departure in policy was undertaken.[1]

This announcement gave some satisfaction, as a step in the right direction, though criticized because the committee was composed of department heads who would be occupied with departmental problems. Two members of the Cabinet resigned: Sir Edward Carson, because not satisfied with the Balkan policy, and Mr. Churchill, as he was omitted from the War Committee.

In July, 1916, the size of the War Committee was increased to seven by the addition of Lord Curzon, at the time when Mr. Lloyd George became Secretary of War and Mr. Montagu succeeded him as Minister of Munitions. The balance of parties in the committee was thus preserved. In practice the Cabinet almost automatically ratified the decisions of the committee; but the committee itself gradually expanded by the presence of official advisers and ministerial visitors until it became almost as cumbrous a body as the Cabinet.[2]

Further dissatisfaction developed with the acknowledged failure of the Dardanelles expedition and the internal conflict in the Cabinet on the question of compulsory military service. A preliminary step in this latter direction had been taken by the passage of the National Registration Act in June, 1915. But the first compulsory service act, for unmarried men, was not introduced until January, 1916. This led to the resignation of Sir John Simon, Home Secretary; and for a short time the active opposition of the Labor and Irish Nationalists in Parliament

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 8 (September, 1916), p. 104. *Cf.* The Committee on Imperial Defense, p. 482.
[2] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, x, ch. 163, p. 354.

appeared probable; but the Labor Ministers were persuaded to withdraw their resignations, and the Nationalists adopted a neutral policy of inaction, since the measure was not to apply to Ireland.

Proposals to extend the application of conscription developed further disagreement in the Cabinet, and when a compromise measure was presented at a secret session of the House of Commons on April 25, so much dissatisfaction was disclosed that the proposed bill was withdrawn and a more sweeping measure introduced early in May.

The hesitancy and delay in dealing with this and other problems led to a growing demand for a more positive leadership in the government. As one writer stated:

> A coalition government above all others should avoid the appearance of sectional and merely departmental activity. In other words the Prime Minister should show beyond the shadow of a doubt that he is the active director of affairs. It is therefore unfortunate that he seemed during these few weeks to withdraw himself from the eye of the House of Commons.[1]

But it should also be noted that the principle upon which the coalition was based called for a general agreement on all important questions of policy; and to have forced a decision against any considerable minority would have involved a reconstruction of the Cabinet.

In spite of these difficulties the Coalition Cabinet continued in office, with minor changes, for a year and a half, until December, 1916. Its record has been summed up in these words:

> The Coalition Government proved in almost every sphere of war direction and war administration that it was stronger than its predecessor, but not strong enough, that it acted more swiftly, but yet acted too late, that its measures were better adapted to the needs of the time than the measures of the first year of the war, but yet were almost invariably half measures.[2]

The Lloyd George War Cabinet and Ministry

Towards the end of the year 1916 there was another general reconstruction of the British Cabinet and Ministry, involving

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 7 (March, 1916), p. 146.
[2] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, x, ch. 163, p. 325.

not only numerous changes in personnel but fundamental alterations in the structure of the Cabinet and in its relations to the House of Commons.

As in the case of the reorganization of May, 1915, the change was not preceded by any formal vote of the House of Commons; but it was the result of criticism outside of Parliament and internal disagreement within the Coalition Cabinet. Dissatisfaction had been growing more acute on a number of important problems, including the most effective distribution of "man power," the reorganization of the Admiralty, more active control over shipping, and questions of food production and control. The London *Times* became more active in demanding a sweeping reorganization in methods of administration.

Within the Cabinet the crisis developed on the question of administrative reorganization. Plans were proposed for reducing the size of the War Committee and giving it more definite authority, without the need for consulting the whole Cabinet. This might have been agreed to without a general recasting of the Cabinet but for the specific proposal that the Prime Minister should not be a member of the War Committee. It was inevitable that Mr. Asquith should not agree to this; and when an attempted compromise failed, Mr. Lloyd George resigned. This was promptly followed by the resignation of Mr. Asquith, which necessarily involved the whole Cabinet.

On Asquith's resignation, the King first turned to Mr. Bonar Law, the recognized leader of the Unionist party, as Mr. Asquith was of the Liberal party. But in a short time Mr. Law reported that he could not form a satisfactory Ministry. Mr. Lloyd George was then called on; and after two days presented his proposed Cabinet and Ministry, which then took office.

The War Cabinet

In the new Ministry the most striking feature was the disappearance of the traditional Cabinet of department heads, and the creation of a distinctly new type of War Cabinet of five

members. This took over the active functions of the former War Committee; but instead of being subordinate to the Cabinet, was to be the superior directing body over the whole group of ministers. This War Cabinet was composed of Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister; Lord Curzon, President of the Council; Lord Milner and Mr. Arthur Henderson, ministers without portfolio; and Mr. Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Only the last named held an important administrative office; and this Cabinet of five were to give their entire time to the general problems of the war.

Executive power and responsibility was thus concentrated in the small body of five men, in place of the unwieldy Cabinet of 23 administrative officers who were also active leaders in Parliament. But this was accomplished by attempting to separate the functions, formerly combined in the Cabinet, of executive control, both from the active leadership of Parliament and from the immediate direction of administrative action. The Prime Minister ceased to be the leader of the House of Commons, and attended but rarely. In a few months Bonar Law retired from the War Cabinet, leaving no member of that body whose regular attendance at the House was to be expected.

The concentration of authority seems to have been generally approved; but there were differences of opinion as to the form, and as to its effect in the future. One writer remarked:

> Everyone expected a much smaller Cabinet; few imagined that he would cut it down to five. Twenty-three was a monstrosity, for which there was no excuse and no palliation save that the party politicians could not bridle their ambitions. A Cabinet of five can only be justified as a temporary war measure, and leaves the perpetual problem of Inner and Outer Cabinet untouched.[1]

On the other hand, another observer has written:

> The time imperatively calls for government by a single man, assisted by the ablest experts. . . . The idea of governing a country by a committee of men who must be unanimous in all their decisions, whether they number

[1] Auditor Tantum, in *Fortnightly Review,* January, 1917, pp. 42-43.

twenty-three or five, is monstrous. After all joint responsibility in accordance with Cabinet fiction means irresponsibility. Twenty-three men, and even five men, can not think and resolve alike in all matters. . . . Although it may be thought that a war committee of five able, honest, energetic men, who are equally determined to win the war, is an ideal body for exercising the supreme control, a dictatorship . . . is inevitable. . . . The logic of events must place the conduct of the war into the hands of a single man, although his supremacy may be disguised by giving him a number of colleagues, who in reality should be his subordinates. War government by debating society is gone probably forever.[1]

In connection with this feature of the new War Cabinet, notice may be taken of the nature of changes in some of the other countries. In France there has also been a small war committee or council created; but this has been composed of the heads of the administrative departments most directly involved in the conduct of the war; while parliamentary commissions have actively cooperated with the Cabinet. In Germany, where the Chancellor has been nominally the sole minister, but whose authority has apparently been limited by the decisions of the heads of the military departments, there have been some steps taken towards at least the form of consultation with the Reichstag and a committee of that body.

It may also be noted that the new War Cabinet, like the War Committee, but unlike the former Cabinet, while meeting in private, has its own secretarial staff and has formal records of its proceedings. The secretariat consists of a secretary and ten assistant secretaries, and a total staff of about 40 persons. Their duties are to keep records of the proceedings, to transmit decisions to departments and officials, to prepare agenda papers, to attend to correspondence and to prepare reports. They also serve at interallied conferences, the Supreme War Council, the Imperial War Cabinet and subcommittees. There are also a number of liaison officers, connecting the War Cabinet with all departments of the government, and a small secretariat to the Prime Minister.[2]

[1] Politicus, in *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1917, pp. 22-23.
[2] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 2-4; *Parliamentary Debates*, 1917, vol. 91: 598.

The Ministry

The formation of the new War Cabinet did not abolish the ministerial positions at the head of the administrative departments. But it materially altered the status of these ministers; and other important changes were made in the constitution of the Ministry. Ministers are freed from considering general questions of policy; and are thus able to devote more time to the administrative duties of their offices.

In the matter of party representation both the War Cabinet and the Ministry preserved the form of a coalition. In the War Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George was a Liberal, Mr. Henderson a Labor member, and the other three were Unionists. In the larger Ministry, the number of Unionists and Labor members was increased; and while there was a considerable number of Liberal ministers, none of the most prominent Liberal members of the Asquith Cabinets remained in office. Moreover there was a significant appearance of men of business rather than parliamentary experience, some of whom could not be definitely assigned to any of the regular parties. The new government was thus a coalition including more than party elements.

On the other hand, the organization of the new Ministry was followed by the reappearance of a formal opposition. Mr. Asquith and his leading supporters took their seats in the Opposition benches, where their attitude towards the government has been similar to that of the Unionists towards the Liberal Cabinet during the first period of the war.

While the new Cabinet was much smaller than the old, the new Ministry was larger. A series of new ministers was appointed, and provision was made later for new departments, and a considerable addition was made to the number of parliamentary secretaries, both in the old and new departments. The new ministries included Ministers of Labor and Pensions, a Food Controller and a Shipping Controller. An Air Board was also created. Later, additional Ministers of National Service and Reconstruction were appointed.

Altogether the new Ministry formed a total of 88, nearly double that of prewar ministries. Of these 60 were members of the House of Commons, 23 were members of the House of Lords, and 5 were not members of either House.[1] The influence of 60 salaried officials of the Ministry as members of the House of Commons may well become an appreciable factor in controlling a majority of votes in that House to sustain the government.

The declining importance of the House of Commons is further indicated by the lack of attention given to it not only by the members of the War Cabinet but also by the ministers. This is indicated by the number of ministers not members of either House, these departments being represented only by under-secretaries. But even the ministerial members of the House have often been absent. It was pointed out that during the debate on a Consolidated Fund Bill, there was no one in the Government Front Bench except a Junior Lord of the Treasury and later the Chief Secretary for Ireland.[2]

Under these circumstances attendance and interest in the proceedings of Parliament have declined. Important bills have been discussed on behalf of the government by comparatively unknown men. The most prominent speakers have been former Liberal ministers, formally in opposition, who after presenting their arguments do not appear on the division lists. The second reading vote on a New Ministries Bill (to establish the Ministry of Reconstruction) was carried by a vote of only 92 ayes to 30 noes.

More than one British writer has publicly called the new governmental arrangements a constitutional revolution. The general results have been summed up in these words, by Sidney Low:

> For the ministerial and administrative Cabinet collectively responsible to Parliament, officered and recruited entirely from the parliamentary circle, intimately related to the House of Commons, framed on rigid party lines,

[1] Herbert Samuel, in *Parliamentary Debates,* 1917, vol. 96: 1609.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates,* 1917, vol. 92: 1337.

and conferring with absolute secrecy, we have a Cabinet which is not a Ministry and a Ministry which is not a Cabinet; a Cabinet which directs but does not administer; a Ministry which has exchanged collective responsibility for individual responsibility; a Cabinet which has a very loose connection with the House of Commons, and for some purposes is virtually independent of it; which stands outside our party divisions; which admits to its confidential deliberations representatives of all the great States of the Empire as well as those of the United Kingdom; and which still holds private, but no longer in the strictest sense secret, meetings.

Like most revolutions it is really the result of a long process of evolution. . . . The Inner Cabinet had long existed in a more or less unacknowledged form. Mr. Asquith regularized the Inner Cabinet and gave it definite status as the War Cabinet, and he made a step towards abolishing the secret conclave by providing this committee with a secretary.

Parliamentary control had persisted in form, but had been sensibly relaxed. The war which conferred quasi-autocratic authority on the Executive diminished it still further; and the formation of the Coalition reduced it to a shadow. This also went far to release the Cabinet from the party system and paved the way for a government in which that system is ignored.[1]

Still another constitutional development of first importance, not only for the Government of the United Kingdom but for the loose aggregate of British Governments vaguely styled the British Empire, was the sessions in the spring of 1917 of what was called the Imperial Cabinet. This was from one point of view an expansion of the War Cabinet formed in December, 1916; but in other respects may be considered to have developed from an earlier Cabinet Committee on Imperial Defense.

Committee on Imperial Defense

In 1895 a national defense committee of the Cabinet had been set up, with the Prime Minister as chairman. In 1904, after the South African war, this was reorganized by the Balfour administration as a Committee on Imperial Defense. As reconstituted this consisted of the Prime Minister as chairman; the Secretaries of State for War, Foreign Affairs, India and the Colonies; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; the First Lord of the Admiralty; the Chief of the General Staff; the First Sea Lord; the Directors of Naval and Military Intelligence, with Viscount

[1] *Fortnightly Review,* February, 1917, pp. 214-215.

Esher and Field Marshal Lord Nicholson. Other high imperial and colonial officials were called into the council as occasion required. Records were kept of its conclusions and of the reasons on which they were based.[1]

The establishment of this committee was formally approved by the House of Commons. While it in no way limited the responsibility of the Cabinet as a whole, it provided machinery by which the military policy of the country might be, so far as possible, continuous, and based upon the authority of the most competent experts.

Sessions of this committee were held during the Imperial Conferences of 1909 and 1912; and in the latter year Mr. Asquith explained its organization to the House of Commons. The full committee met on an average six or seven times a year. There were four permanent committees in constant session: on home ports defense, on overseas defense, on the coordination of action at the outbreak of war, and on air matters. There were also other committees on internal and overseas transport, wireless telegraphy, maintenance of commerce and censorship in time of war. After this statement another subcommittee was organized on possible invasions or raids.[2]

This committee had been active in formulating military policy and making plans and preparations for war. With the outbreak of the present war, its activities increased, and its membership tended to enlarge. A list of those who usually attended the meetings in 1915 includes, besides those noted above, the Minister of Munitions, the Lord President of the Council, the permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Second Sea Lord of the Admiralty, the Chief of the Admiralty War Staff, the Director of Military Operations, the Inspector General of Overseas Forces, and Admirals Lord Fisher and A. K. Wilson—making a total of about twenty.[3]

From its membership this committee must have dealt to a

[1] *Constitutional Year Book*, 1916, pp. 20, 67.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th series, vol. 42: 1385; *The Political Quarterly*, No. 5, pp. 67-68.
[3] *British Imperial Calendar*, 1916, p. 365.

large extent with questions of administration and the execution of policy.

The Imperial Cabinet

Some steps taken earlier in the war foreshadowed the Imperial Cabinet of 1917. In July, 1915, a meeting of the Cabinet was attended by Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada. In March, 1916, a Cabinet meeting was attended by Mr. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, who had come to Great Britain, after recent conferences with the Prime Ministers of New Zealand and Canada.[1] These two isolated and apparently unpremeditated incidents prepared the way for the more general admission of representatives of the dominions to the Cabinet.

In December, 1916, after the formation of the Lloyd George Cabinet and Ministry, the British Government invited the governments of the overseas dominions and India to a special war conference, in connection with which there should be held a continuous series of meetings of the new War Cabinet, of which for this conference the Prime Ministers of the Dominions should be members.

The conference was held during March and April, 1917, including representatives from Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand and South Africa, and also from India. All the self-governing Dominions were represented, except Australia, where a parliamentary election required the presence of the ministers at home. The Secretary of State for the Colonies presided; and other ministers and permanent officials of the United Kingdom attended, but not the Prime Minister nor other members of the War Cabinet. This conference considered political and commercial matters of joint concern; its proceedings were reported and, in part, made public; but like previous Imperial Conferences it was only an advisory body with no positive authority.[2]

During the same period, meeting as a rule on alternate days to the Imperial Conference, were held the sessions of the Im-

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, x, ch. 163, p. 341.
[2] Sidney Low, in *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1917, p. 234.

perial War Cabinet. This included the Prime Minister and the other members of the War Cabinet; the Secretaries of State for India and the Colonies; and also Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada; Wm. Massey and Joseph Ward, Premier and Finance Minister of New Zealand; Sir Edward Morris from Newfoundland; General Smuts from South Africa, and the Maharajah of Bikanir and Sir S. P. Sinha from India. The representatives of India and the Dominions were not merely witnesses and advisers, but in effect ministers without portfolio, deliberating under the privy councilor's oath.

No official report of the meetings of the Imperial Cabinet has been published; but it was announced that at the final session the Prime Minister proposed that meetings of an Imperial Cabinet should be held annually, or at any intermediate time when matters of urgent imperial concern require to be settled.

> The Imperial Cabinet will consist of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and such of his colleagues as deal specially with imperial affairs, of the Prime Minister of each of the Dominions, or of some specially accredited alternative possessed of equal authority, and of a representative of the Indian people to be appointed by the Government of India.[1]

In the concluding resolutions of the Imperial Conference, it was voted that the readjustment of constitutional relations of the British Governments should be postponed to a special Imperial Conference to be called after the war; and

> that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize their right to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations; and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common imperial concern and for such necessary concerted action founded on consultation as the several governments may determine.

A second meeting of the Imperial Cabinet in June, 1918, marks another step towards establishing annual meetings of this kind as a recognized convention of the British imperial constitution.[2]

[1] J. B. Firth, in *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1917, p. 196.
[2] *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 33, pp. 378, 394.

These developments mark important steps in the reconstruction of the constitution, both of the United Kingdom and what has been formally called the British "Imperial Commonwealth."

So far as the United Kingdom is concerned, it indicates a further departure from the collective responsibility of the Cabinet to the House of Commons. The connection of the House to the new War Cabinet is but slight. The House did not vote Mr. Asquith out; nor did it vote in Lloyd George and his associates.

But if the House of Commons has been losing control over the Cabinet of the United Kingdom, how much less likely is it to control the new Imperial Cabinet? How can the British Parliament be the final authority in deciding policies which will be framed and executed in part by statesmen in no way responsible to British or Irish electorates? It would seem to be impossible for a national Parliament to exercise effective control over what in effect will be an international executive.

In the direction of imperial organization, the new Imperial Cabinet is established as the corner stone of the new system. And it has been recognized both by those opposed and those in favor of an organization based on the federal idea, that the steps taken signify that the development is proceeding on lines away from the plan of an imperial federation.

Nevertheless the problem remains as to how the Imperial Cabinet shall be held responsible and to whom.

The formation of the Allied War Council in the autumn of 1917 marked another change in political institutions of the highest importance, with significant effects on the working of the several Allied Governments. But an international agency of this kind lies outside of the scope of this study; and an analysis of its actual and probable results belongs rather to the field of international problems.

In operation the new War Cabinet and Ministry has been more active and aggressive than the Coalition Ministry. It has held almost daily sessions, holding 300 meetings during the year 1917.

At these meetings many other persons than the members of the War Cabinet attend. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty and the Chief of Staff attend every meeting, to communicate the latest intelligence in regard to the war and to consult on questions which arise from day to day. Most meetings are also attended by other ministers, with department officials and experts. A total of 248 persons other than the members of the War Cabinet had attended meetings up to the end of December, 1917.

At these meetings questions of general policy are considered; and problems of overlapping and conflicting jurisdiction are determined or coordinated. A considerable number of questions have been referred to individual members of the War Cabinet, or to committees of ministers or other persons—in some cases with power to decide, in others to investigate and report. [1]

The new system of government resulted in more prompt and decisive action in a number of matters. The creation of new ministries showed an attempt to meet the pressing problems of the war by new administrative machinery. Some effort was made to deal with the troublesome question of Ireland. The problem of parliamentary reform was taken in hand, and the bold decision to call an Imperial Cabinet marked an important step towards a more effective organization of the Empire.

At the same time there has been evidence of internal difficulties and some criticism of the new machinery; and a number of changes have been made in the War Cabinet and also in the Ministry. In May, 1917, Mr. Henderson, the Labor member in the War Cabinet, was replaced by Mr. Barnes, while the former was on a mission to Russia; and after his return differences with his colleagues led to the definitive retirement of Mr. Henderson from the government. It appeared that even before the critical point had been reached, Mr. Henderson had not been freely admitted to meetings of the Cabinet; but his resignation emphasized the continuation of the principle that the members of the Cabinet must be unanimous in their public expressions.

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 2-4.

On the other hand the resignation of Austen Chamberlain as Secretary of State for India (in July, 1917), on the adverse report of an investigation into the first Mesopotamian campaign, indicated that outside of the new Cabinet the individual responsibility of ministers was tending to replace the collective responsibility of the group. A series of important changes in both Cabinet and Ministry was made at that time. Mr. Bonar Law retired from the War Cabinet, though continuing as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Edward Carson was transferred from the Admiralty to the Cabinet—changes which further weakened the connection between the Cabinet and the House of Commons. Several other changes were made in the Ministry, including the return of Winston Churchill to office as Minister of Munitions.

In the spring of 1918 some further changes were made. Lord Milner became Secretary of State for War; and his place in the War Cabinet was given to Austen Chamberlain. Some other ministerial changes were made at the same time.

In Parliament Mr. Law has not proven a supreme leader; and on several occasions Mr. Asquith, from the Opposition bench, demonstrated his continued leadership of the House, and saved the government in critical situations. But in May, 1918, on a motion by Mr. Asquith to appoint a select committee to investigate certain charges, the House of Commons upheld the Lloyd George government by a vote of 293 to 106. But this vote showed a large number of absentees, indicating that many members while unwilling to vote out the Ministry, were not altogether satisfied with the situation.

The meetings of the Imperial Cabinet involved a considerable addition to the group of five, which had been supposed to be an ideal number for securing prompt and effective decisions. After the other colonial ministers had departed, General Smuts, the representative from South Africa, continued to attend sessions of the War Cabinet; and this gave rise to question in the House of Commons as to his status in the government.

Practical experience has also indicated that it is difficult, if not impossible, to divorce general policy from questions of ad-

ministration. Lord Curzon admitted in the House of Lords that most of the time of the War Cabinet was occupied in the adjustment of internal disputes between the ministers. New departments, boards, commissions and committees continued to be established, until the total number was more than 400;[1] and it became evident that the multiplication of such agencies raised as many problems as it solved. Questions arose as to the jurisdiction of the Food Controller and the President of the Board of Agriculture. The Ministry of Munitions became in large part an extension of the former labor conciliation department of the Board of Trade. Yet a new Ministry of Labor was created. The director of the new department of National Service resigned because he had nothing to do. The Reconstruction Committee practically abandoned its problems; and the proposed new Ministry of Reconstruction was generally ridiculed.[2] The creation of new departments, indeed, involved a process of decentralization which contrasted with the policy of centralized control which the new War Cabinet was supposed to typify.

In the conduct of the war no broad and coherent policy and no effective means of systematic control over the numerous departments seems to have been developed. Nor was there any definite statement as to satisfactory terms of peace until January, 1918.

A well known writer views "with some misgiving the recent arrangements by which the Cabinet is to a great extent cut off from the great offices which carry on the several branches of the actual government, and by which a secretariat is interposed between the supreme governing committee and these offices.[3]

Criticism arose in some quarters because the Cabinet did not confine its attention to war problems. But the unwieldy multiplicity of ministries, departments and other agencies badly needed some balance wheel; and the more serious defect was that the Cabinet did not prove a sufficiently effective agency of control. The problem of administrative organization is not one to be

[1] See Lists in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Cd. 7855; 1917, Cd. 8741; *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, pp. 148-165; *The Nation's Business*, November, 1917; *U. S. Commerce Reports*, No. 54, March 6, 1918.

[2] *The New Republic*, xii, 90-92 (August 25, 1917).

[3] Spencer Wilkinson, in *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1918, p. 45.

settled by any single principle or catchword of centralization or decentralization. It involves a careful and systematic division of functions, and arrangements for effective coordination and correlation between the several agencies.

If an outsider may venture an opinion, there is need for a still more radical reorganization of the British administrative system, affecting not only the Cabinet, but the numerous ministerial departments. The number of main departments should be reduced; and the less important services organized within one or the other of the main departments. For example, it might be well to combine the ministries of foreign and colonial affairs. There could be a single ministry of military operations, embracing the army, the navy, the air service, and the munitions service. A comprehensive ministry of home or internal affairs might absorb the functions of the Home Secretary, the Local Government Board, the Board of Agriculture and the Food Controller. A minister of trade and commerce could take over the work of the Board of Trade and the Shipping Controller.

If the number of main departments were thus reduced to eight or ten, many of the conflicts between what are now distinct ministries could be settled within the department. A Cabinet of workable size could then be set up, including the ministers at the head of each of the main departments, with the Prime Minister as the general director of the whole system. Such a Cabinet might combine the advantages of centralized control aimed at in the Lloyd George Ministry with those of the old Cabinet system, which linked the central council with the administrative services and with Parliament.

Such an organization would also lend itself to the further development of imperial organization. The five or six ministers dealing with imperial problems could sit with the colonial premiers and a representative from India in an imperial cabinet which would also be small enough for effective results; while imperial conferences held from time to time with more representatives from the overseas dominions would form a deliberative agency for the consideration of larger questions of policy.

Italics indicate members of the Asquith and Coalition Cabinets.
SMALL CAPITALS indicate members of the Lloyd George War Cabinet.

	Asquith Ministry at the Outbreak of the War	Coalition Ministry June 3, 1915	War Ministry December 10, 1916
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury	*H. H. Asquith*	*H. H. Asquith* (L)	DAVID LLOYD GEORGE (L)
Lord President of the Council	*Earl Beauchamp*	*Marquess of Crewe* (L)	EARL CURZON (U)
Chancellor of the Exchequer	*David Lloyd George*	*Reginald McKenna* (L)	BONAR LAW (U) [1]
Ministers without Portfolio	———	*Marquess of Lansdowne* (U)	VISCOUNT MILNER (U) [2] ARTHUR HENDERSON (Lab) [3] GEORGE N. BARNES (Lab) (May, 1917) SIR EDWARD CARSON (U) [1] AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN (May, 1918) Dr. Christopher Addison (July, 1917) [4]
Lord Chancellor	*Viscount Haldane*	*Lord Buckmaster* (L)	Sir Robert B. Finlay (U)
Lord Privy Seal	*Marquess of Crewe*	*Earl Curzon* (U)	Earl of Crawford (U)
Minister of Munitions	———	*David Lloyd George* (L)	Dr. Christopher Addison (L)
		Edwin Samuel Montagu (L) (June, 1916)	Winston Churchill (July, 1917)
Secretaries of State: Home Office	*Reginald McKenna*	*Sir John A. Simon* (L)	Sir George Cave (U)
		Herbert Samuel (L) (Jan., 1916)	
Foreign Affairs	*Sir Edward Grey*	*Sir Edward Grey* (L) [5]	Arthur J. Balfour (U)
War Office	*Earl Kitchener*	*Earl Kitchener* [5]	Earl of Derby (U)
		David Lloyd George (L) (June, 1916)	Lord Milner (U) (May, 1918)

[1] Bonar Law resigned from the War Cabinet to Sir Edward Carson, but continued as Chancellor of the Exchequer.
[2] Retired from War Cabinet in May, 1918, and appointed Secretary of State for War.
[3] Henderson, while on a mission to Russia, was replaced by Barnes, but never returned to an active part in the War Cabinet.
[4] In charge of "reconstruction" plans.
[5] Held same position in Asquith Ministry.

	Asquith Ministry at the Outbreak of the War	Coalition Ministry June 3, 1915	War Ministry December 10, 1916
Colonial	*Lewis Harcourt*	*Bonar Law* (U)	Walter Long (U)
India	*Marquess of Crewe*	*Austen Chamberlain* (U)	Austen Chamberlain (U)
			Edwin Samuel Montagu (L) (July, 1917)
First Lord of the Admiralty	*Winston Churchill*	*Arthur J. Balfour* (U)	Sir Edward Carson (U)
			Sir Eric Geddes (July, 1917)
Chief Secretary for Ireland	*Augustine Birrell*	*Augustine Birrell* (L) [1, 2]	Henry E. Duke (U)
		Henry E. Duke (U) (July, 1916)	
President of the Board of Education	*Joseph A. Pease*	*Arthur Henderson* (Lab)	Herbert A. L. Fisher
		Marquess of Crewe (L) (Aug., 1916)	
President of the Board of Agriculture	Lord Lucas	*Lord Selborne*	Rowland E. Prothero (U)
		Earl of Crawford (U) (June, 1916)	
President of the Local Government Board	*Herbert Samuel*	*Walter Long* (U)	Lord Rhondda (L)
		W. Hayes Fisher (U) (July, 1916)	
President of the Board of Trade	*Walter Runciman*	*Walter Runciman* (L) [1]	Sir Albert Stanley (U)
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	*Edwin Samuel Montagu*	*Winston Churchill* (L)	Sir Frederick Cawley (L)
		Herbert Samuel (L) (Nov., 1915)	
		Edwin S. Montagu (L) (Jan., 1916)	
		T. McKinnon Wood (L) (June, 1916)	
Secretary for Scotland	*T. McKinnon Wood*	*T. McKinnon Wood* (L) [1]	Robert Munro (L)
		Harold John Tennant (L) (June, 1916)	

[1] Held same position in Asquith Ministry.
[2] Resigned in May. Position vacant until Henry E. Duke appointed in July.

	Asquith Ministry at the Outbreak of the War	Coalition Ministry June 3, 1915	War Ministry December 10, 1916
First Commissioner of Works	*Lord Emmott*	*Lewis V. Harcourt* (L)	Sir Alfred M. Mond (L)
Attorney General	*Sir John A. Simon*	*Sir Edward Carson* (U)	Sir Frederick E. Smith (U)
		Sir Frederick E. Smith (U) (Oct., 1915)	
Minister of Blockade	———	———	Lord Robert Cecil (U)
		Lord Robert Cecil (U) (Feb., 1916)	
Food Controller	———	———	Lord Devonport (L)
			Lord Rhondda (L) (June, 1917)
Shipping Controller	———	———	Sir Joseph Paton Maclay
Minister of Labor	———	———	John Hodge (Lab)
Minister of Pensions	———	———	George N. Barnes (Lab)
		Arthur Henderson (Lab) (Nov., 1916)	
Air Board	———	———	Viscount Cowdray
		Maj. Baird (July, 1916)	
War Trade Department	———	———	Lord Emmott
		Walter Clive Bridgeman (U) (July, 1916)	Asst. Capt. Visct. Wolmer (U)
Ministry of National Service	———	———	Neville Chamberlain
Ministry of Reconstruction	———	———	Dr. C. Addison (July, 1917)
Postmaster General	*C. E. H. Hobhouse*	Herbert Samuel (L)	Albert Holden Illingworth (L)
		J. A. Pease (L) (Jan., 1916)	
Under-Secretaries of State:			
Home Office	Ellis Griffith	William Brace (Lab)	William Brace (Lab)
	Cecil Harmsworth (Feb., 1915)		
Foreign Affairs	Francis Dyke Acland	*Lord Robert Cecil* (U)	Lord Robert Cecil (U)
	Hon. Neil Primrose (Feb., 1915)		Additional—Lord Hardinge
Colonial Office	Lord Islington	Arthur D. Steel-Maitland (U)	Arthur D. Steel-Maitland (U)
War Office	Harold John Tennant	Harold John Tennant (L) [1]	J. Ian Macpherson
		Earl of Derby (U) (June, 1916)	
India	C. H. Roberts	Lord Islington (L)	Lord Islington (L)

[1] Held same position in Asquith Ministry.

	Asquith Ministry at the Outbreak of the War	Coalition Ministry June 3, 1915	War Ministry December 10, 1916
Parliamentary Secretaries to the Admiralty	T. J. Macnamara	T. J. Macnamara (L) [1]	T. J. Macnamara (L) [1] Additional—Earl Lytton (U)
Board of Education	Dr. Christopher Addison	J. Herbert Lewis (L)	J. Herbert Lewis (L)
Board of Trade	J. M. Robertson	Ernest George Pretyman (U)	G. H. Roberts (Lab)
Local Government Board	J. Herbert Lewis	William Hayes Fisher (U)	William Hayes Fisher (U)
Treasury	Percy Illingworth	John W. Gulland (L) [1]	Lord Edmund Talbot (U)
	John W. Gulland (Feb., 1915)	Lord Edmund Talbot (U)	Capt. F. E. Guest (Mar., 1917) (L)
Financial Secretary to the Treasury	Edwin Samuel Montagu	Edwin Samuel Montagu (L) [1]	S. H. Lever
	Francis Dyke Acland (Feb., 1915)		
Parliamentary Sec. to Munitions Dept.	————	Dr. Christopher Addison (L)	F. G. Kellaway (L) Sir Worthington Evans (U)
Dr. to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries	Sir Harry Verney	Francis Dyke Acland (L)	Sir R. Winfrey (L) Duke of Marlborough
Financial Secretary to the War Office	Harold Trevor Baker	Henry William Forster (U)	Henry William Forster (U)
Junior Lords of the Treasury	John W. Gulland (went out Feb., 1915)	Geoffrey Howard (L)	James F. Hope (U)
	W. Wedgwood Benn	G. H. Roberts (Lab)	J. W. Pratt (L)
	William Jones	Walter Clive Bridgeman (U)	Stanley Baldwin (U)
	H. Webb	Walter Rea (L)	James Parker (Lab)
	Walter Rea (Feb., 1915)		Towyn Jones (L)
	Cecil Beck (Feb., 1915)		
Civil Lord of the Admiralty	George Lambert	Duke of Devonshire	Ernest George Pretyman (U)
		Sir Arthur Lee (June, 1916) (U)	
		Earl Lytton (U) (Oct., 1916)	

[1] Held same position in Asquith Ministry.

	Asquith Ministry at the Outbreak of the War	Coalition Ministry June 3, 1915	War Ministry December 10, 1916
Solicitor General	Sir Stanley Buckmaster	Sir Frederick E. Smith (U) Sir George Cave (U) (Oct., 1915)	Sir Gordon Hewart (L)
Paymaster General	Lord Strachie	Lord Newton *Arthur Henderson* (Lab) (Oct., 1916)	Sir J. Compton-Rickett
Assistant Postmaster General	Capt. Cecil Norton	H. Pike Pease (U)	H. Pike Pease (U)
Parliamentary Secretaries to the National Service Ministry	———	———	Stephen Walsh
Air Board	———	———	Maj. Baird
Food Control Ministry	———	———	Capt. Charles Bathurst (U)
Minister of Pensions	———	———	Col. Sir Arthur Griffith Boscawen (U)
Shipping Controller	———	———	Sir L. G. Chiozza Money (L)
Minister of Blockades	———	———	Rt. Hon. F. Leverton Harris (U)
Minister of Labor	———	———	Walter Clive Bridgeman (U)
Assistant Under-Secretary Foreign Affairs	———	Lord Newton (Oct., 1916)	Lord Newton
Scotland: Secretary for	*T. McKinnon Wood*	*T. McKinnon Wood* (L) [1] *Harold John Tennant* (L) (June, 1916)	Robert Munro (L)
Lord Advocate	Robert Munro	Robert Munro (L) [1]	James A. Clyde (U)
Solicitor General	Thomas Brash Morison	Thomas Brash Morison (L) [1]	Thomas Brash Morison (L) [1]
Ireland: Lord Lieutenant	Earl of Aberdeen Lord Wimborne (Feb., 1915)	Lord Wimborne (L) [2]	Lord Wimborne (L)

[1] Held same position in Asquith Ministry.
[2] Resigned in May. Position vacant until reappointed in August.

	Asquith Ministry at the Outbreak of the War	Coalition Ministry June 3, 1915	War Ministry December 10, 1916
Chief Secretary	*Augustine Birrell*	*Augustine Birrell* (L) [1, 2]	Henry E. Duke (U)
		Henry E. Duke (U) (July, 1916)	
Lord Chancellor	Ignatius J. O'Brien	Ignatius J. O'Brien (L) [1]	Ignatius J. O'Brien (L) [1]
Attorney General	Jonathan Pim	John Gordon (U)	James O'Connor (L)
		J. H. M. Campbell (March, 1916)	
Solicitor General	James O'Connor	James O'Connor (L) [1]	James Chambers (U)
Ministers of the Royal Household:			
Lord Steward	Earl of Chesterfield	Lord Farquhar (U)	Lord Farquhar (U)
Treasurer	Capt. Hon. F. E. Guest	James F. Hope (U)	Col. James Craig (U)
Controller	Lord Saye and Sele	Charles Roberts (L)	Sir Edwin Cornwall (L)
Lord Chamberlain	Lord Sandhurst	Lord Sandhurst (L) [1]	Lord Sandhurst (L) [1]
Vice Chamberlain	Hon. Geoffrey Howard	Cecil Beck (L)	Cecil Beck (L)
Lords in Waiting	Lord Herschell	Lord Herschell (L) [1]	Lord Herschell (L) [1]
	Lord Allendale	Lord Allendale (L) [1]	Lord Kenyon (L)
	Lord Stanmore	Lord Stanmore (L) [1]	Lord Stanmore (L) [1]
	Lord Ranksborough	Lord Ranksborough (U) [1]	Lord Ranksborough (U) [1]
	Lord Granville	Lord Valentia (U)	Lord Valentia (U)
	Lord Acton	Lord Hylton (U)	Lord Hylton (U)
Captain of Gentlemen-at-Arms	Lord Colebrooke	Lord Colebrooke (L) [1]	Lord Colebrooke (L) [1]
Captain of Yeomen of Guard	Earl of Craven	Lord Suffield (U)	Lord Suffield (U)
Master of the Horse	Earl of Granard	Earl of Chesterfield (L)	Earl of Chesterfield (L)

[1] Held same position in Asquith Ministry.
[2] Resigned in May. Position vacant until Henry E. Duke appointed in July.

CHAPTER IV

Naval Administration

At the outbreak of the war the British navy was by far the largest and most powerful in the world; and it promptly entered on war operations. During the progress of the war there has been a large expansion of naval strength, though little definite information has been published as to the forms and extent of this development. There have also been some changes and developments in the internal administration of the navy, and some important changes in personnel in the higher posts. But there has been no radical reconstruction in the machinery of naval organization and administration.

Some account of the development and organization of British naval administration will, however, be of service, as a basis for understanding the changes introduced, and also for comparison with the organization of army administration.

Historical

Until the beginning of the fifteenth century the English navy was managed directly by the Privy Council, with executive control vested in officials known as keepers (afterwards called admirals) assigned to localized fleets and ports. In 1406 John Branford, Earl of Somerset, was appointed "Admiral of England"; and other Lord High Admirals followed in succession until 1628 and at intervals thereafter. In the time of Henry VIII a navy board was organized to take charge of civil administration under the Admiralty; and other officials were provided from time to time. It was under this system of centralized control that the Spanish Armada was overcome in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

In 1628 the office of Lord High Admiral was placed in commission; and the general management of naval affairs has continued to be exercised by the Admiralty Board since that time, with a few intervals. During the Commonwealth the functions both of the Admiralty and the Navy Boards were discharged by committees of Parliament. From 1660 to 1673 James, Duke of York, was Lord High Admiral; and from 1701 to 1709 the Earl of Pembroke held this position. It is also of interest to note that from 1660 to 1689 Samuel Pepys, the writer of the well known diary, was Secretary to the Admiralty; and from 1695 to 1742 Josiah Burchett held this post. An act of 1690 set forth the powers of the Admiralty Board.[1]

From time to time new agencies were created for special purposes. In 1683 a board of victualing commissioners was established; and in 1689 a transport board. By 1782 there were no less than thirteen civil departments dealing with naval affairs, with offices at different places. With this elaborate and apparently unconcentrated machinery, the British navy was administered during the series of wars in the eighteenth century. There is also record of internal disagreement within the Admiralty Board itself, when in 1795 Admiral Middleton, the First Sea Lord, resigned owing to differences with Lord Spencer, the First Lord. Some years later, however, Middleton, as Lord Barham, became First Lord; and in this capacity exercised direct personal control in the period leading to the battle of Trafalgar.[2]

The need for a reorganization of the administrative system was emphasized by the reports of a commission of inquiry appointed in 1801. In 1809 some improvements were made by Order in Council. But further changes of greater importance were made by Act of Parliament in 1832, and by Orders in Council of 1869, 1872, 1882 and 1904.

Under the original patent of Queen Anne, the powers of the Admiralty Board were granted to any three or more of the commissioners; and the act of 1690 provided that the Admiralty

[1] R. V. Hamilton: *Naval Administration* (1890), pp. 5-6.
[2] A. Hurd in *Fortnightly Review,* vol. 105, p. 249 (1916).

Board have all the powers lawfully vested in the Lord High Admiral. By the act of 1832, the powers of the board could be exercised by any *two* members. This act also abolished the Navy Board and the victualing commissioners, and vested in the Admiralty the powers of the various civil departments. Five departments were established, under the Surveyor of the Navy, the Accountant General, the Controller of Victualing and Transport and the Physician of the Navy. There was also to be a parliamentary and a permanent secretary.

But, as has been pointed out:

> It is in truth not the patent which regulates the business of the Admiralty, but a body of usage; more or less flexible and variable in character which has come down from time immemorial. According to this ancient usage there has always been inherent in the First Lord an elastic power which enables him to undertake duties which the public welfare may require.[1]

In ordinary circumstances the First Lord acts only in concert with the board; but in emergencies he may concentrate in his hand all the powers of the board, as was done by Lord Barham.

The act of 1832 was passed through the influence of Sir James Graham, then First Lord of the Admiralty; and the conduct of business under this act, and continuity of practice was maintained through the long tenure of Sir John Barrow as permanent secretary for thirty years.

An Order in Council of 1869 fixed the distribution of business between the members of the Admiralty Board—and impaired the flexibility of the former system. This order represented the First Lord as "responsible to Your Majesty and to Parliament for all the business of the Admiralty," with the other members as his assistants. The effect of this change was soon evident in the record of board meetings. In 1866 the board had held 249 meetings; in 1870 there were only 33 meetings, most of them lasting only a few minutes and none as long as half an hour.

In 1872 another Order in Council, while still recognizing the First Lord as responsible, no longer represented the other mem-

[1] *Quarterly Review*, vol. 223, p. 59 (1915).

bers as his assistants. By this order the Controller ceased to be a member of the board; but he was restored in 1882.

Orders in Council of August 10 and October 20, 1904, further regulated the internal organization of the Admiralty Board. The first of these provided that the First, Second and Fourth Sea Lords should be responsible to the First Lord for matters of personnel; and the Third Sea Lord and Controller for business relating to materiel assigned by the First Lord. The second order assigned to the First Sea Lord the preparations for naval war, the fighting and seagoing efficiency of the fleet, control of the intelligence, hydrographic and ordnance departments; and provided that he should be consulted by the other members in cases of great importance. This statement, while new in form, is said to describe the previous practice; but it appears to recognize more definitely the superior position of the First Sea Lord to the other Sea Lords, while the order also relieved him of questions of discipline and other routine duties. [1]

The Admiralty Board

The board of commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral now consists of nine members. The First Lord of the Admiralty is much more than the chairman of a committee. He is the political head of the navy, responsible to the Cabinet and to Parliament. With rare exceptions this post has been filled by civilians; and until the Cabinet reorganization in December, 1916, he was always a member of the Cabinet. But the authority of the First Lord is limited on the one hand by the Cabinet, and on the other by the possibility of the resignation of the naval lords in case of serious disagreement.

Four naval officers of high rank are designated as Sea Lords. The first of these, as noted above, holds distinctly a superior position to the others; and he is the chief technical adviser of the First Lord. Each of the naval lords is assigned to specific functions, as noted hereafter.

[1] *Quarterly Review,* vol. 223, pp. 207-212 (1915).

In addition there is a Civil Lord, an additional Civil Lord (added a few years ago) and a Parliamentary and a Permanent Secretary, whose functions are also set forth below.

Unlike many other boards in the British system, the Admiralty Board holds frequent meetings at which important questions of policy and administration are discussed and decided.

The specific functions of the several members of the Admiralty Board are described in the following statement, from the *Constitutional Year Book* for 1916 (pp. 61-62):

The First Lord of the Admiralty is responsible for the general direction and supervision of all business relating to the navy. He also deals personally with all matters relating to promotions and removals from the service of naval and marine officers; honors and rewards [royal yachts and admiralty yacht]; appointment of admirals and officers in command [including engineers, rear admirals, surgeons general and deputy surgeons general, and staff appointments of the Royal Marines; chaplain of the fleet, appointment and entry of] naval chaplains and instructors; civil appointments and promotions (higher posts) [nomination to naval cadetships and to assistant clerkships, R. N.].

The First Sea Lord advises the First Lord on preparation for war, and on all large questions of naval policy and maritime warfare. He is responsible for the fighting and seagoing efficiency of the fleet, its organization and mobilization; the distribution and movements of all ships in commission and in fleet reserve; the control of the War Staff and the Hydrographic Department. Questions of importance relating to discipline are also referred to the First Sea Lord.

In any matter of great importance the First Sea Lord is always consulted by the other Sea Lords, the Civil Lord, the additional Civil Lord, and the Parliamentary and Permanent Secretaries, and refers to the First Lord for any further action considered necessary. All members of the board communicate direct with the First Lord whenever they wish to do so.

The Second Sea Lord is responsible for the manning and training of the fleet, which includes complements, barracks, training and educational establishments, also all mobilization regulations for the *personnel;* service and appointments of officers of all branches (except as reserved to First Lord); Royal Marines; Coast Guard and Reserve forces; hospitals; discipline and signals.

The Third Sea Lord (Controller) is responsible for the design of the *materiel* for the fleet, including ships and their machinery, armor, naval ordnance and gun mountings, aeroplanes and airships, and docking facilities; also alterations and additions to ships which affect design or fighting effi-

ciency; preparation of estimates of cost of all new construction falling due in any year under current and prospective programs; superintendence of the departments of the director of naval construction, engineer in chief, director of naval ordnance, director of air department, and superintendent of compasses; design questions affecting vessels proposed to be purchased for the fleet or to be employed in auxiliary services; inventions relating to ships, machinery, etc.; salvage of vessels, so far as technical and professional considerations are involved.

The Fourth Sea Lord is responsible for matters connected with the transport service, including hired auxiliary vessels other than armed merchant cruisers; passages; the superintendence of naval stores, fleet coaling and victualing services; ordnance and medical stores, etc., and all questions relating thereto; full and half pay; allowances and compensations, including table money; prize questions; pilotage and surveying; pay and freight of treasure and all extra payments; debts of officers and men, naval and marine pensions; character, conduct and badge questions; naval prisons; deserters—rewards for apprehension; removals of "R"; general salvage money questions and money demands for salvage of naval stores; collisions.

The Civil Lord has charge of works and buildings, including purchases of land; coast guard buildings, sites and leases; staff of civil servants (except as reserved to First Lord), including classification; appointment, promotion, pay, allowances and pension; dockyard police; Greenwich Hospital business, including appointments (except of naval chaplain to livings, superintendent of Royal Hospital school, curator of the Painted Hall, and appointments to Greenwich Hospital pensions); charitable fund, compassionate allowances, subscriptions, etc., and allowances to ministers of religion and grants in aid of churches and schools; marine and dockyard schools; special questions affecting retirement and pay of naval and marine officers and men, when discretionary power is provided for by Order in Council; works questions of an important character are marked to him also.

The Additional Civil Lord is responsible for contracts for the *materiel* for the fleet (including ships and their machinery, armor, naval ordnance and gun mountings, aeroplanes and airships), works, yard machinery and stores of all description. Contract arrangements in connection with the disposal, salvage or loan of vessels or stores. Superintendence of the contract and purchase department; general organization of dockyards, including provision of labor and plant, and all business questions in connection with the building and repair of ships and their machinery, whether in the dockyards or in private yards.

The Parliamentary Secretary deals with finance, estimates and expenditure generally; and all proposals for new and unusual expenditure; accounts—cash, store and dockyard expense; purchase and sale of ships and of stores generally; payment of hire of ships as armed merchant cruisers, troop ships, colliers, freight ships, etc.; questions involving reference to the Treasury

financially, except as provided for under the Civil Lord; questions connected with exchequer and audit department; general labor questions, including annual petitions.

The Permanent Secretary has control of the discipline of the various departments of the Admiralty; recommendations for appointments and promotions in the Admiralty office; correspondence; communications with foreign naval attachés; communications with ministers of religion (other than Church of England); appointment of messengers.

An examination of the above statement indicates that the division of labor between the several members of the Admiralty Board is not sharply differentiated into a few main categories; but that there seems to be considerable overlapping or more often a subdivision of one main field between several members of the board. This is also evident by noting that of the numerous subdepartments into which the Admiralty is organized, a number are under the supervision of two or more members of the board for different phases of their work. Friction on this account is probably reduced by the general supervision of the First Sea Lord and the First Lord of the Admiralty.

For example the engineers department is under the direction of the Second Sea Lord in matters of personnel, and under the Third Sea Lord in matters of materiel. The functions of the civilian members appear to cover many matters also under the control of the Sea Lords.

The various administrative departments and services under the Admiralty Board are listed below, grouped so far as possible under the several members of the board. The new departments organized since the beginning of the present war are indicated by italics; and these will be discussed more fully hereafter.

Lords of the Admiralty
  First Sea Lord
    Admiralty War Staff
      Operations Division
      Intelligence Division
      Mobilization Division
      Trade Division
    Navigation Department
    Hydrographic Department

Second Sea Lord (Personnel)
  Educational Establishments
  Royal Marines
  Coast Guard
  Royal Naval Reserves
  Discipline (Courts Martial)
Third Sea Lord (Materiel)
  Department of the Director of Naval Equipment
  Department of the Director of Naval Construction
  Department of the Engineer in Chief
    Compass Branch
  Department of the Director of Naval Ordnance
  Air Department
Fourth Sea Lord
  Department of the Director of Transports
  Victualing Department
  Department of Director of Naval Stores
Civil Lord
  Department of the Director of Works
  Greenwich Hospital
Additional Civil Lord
  Contract and Purchase Department
  Department of the Director of Dockyards
Parliamentary Secretary
  Department of the Accountant General
  Department of Inspector of Dockyard Expense Accounts
Permanent Secretary
Medical Department
Chaplain of the Fleet
Royal Observatories
Nautical Almanac
Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board
Board of Inventions and Research
Prize Claims Committee
Neutral Ships Detention Committee
Admiralty Coasting Trade Committee

New Agencies

The newly established agencies in the Admiralty include the Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board, organized at the beginning of the war, a Board of Invention and Research, created

in July, 1915, a Trade Division in the Admiralty War Staff and committees on prize claims, detention of neutral ships and the coasting trade. Closely connected with the work of the navy and the Admiralty are the prize courts, established, as in previous wars, to pass on the validity of the detention and seizure of ships and cargoes.

Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board[1]

A Royal Proclamation of August 3, 1914, authorized the Admiralty Board to requisition any British ship or British vessel within the British Isles or waters adjacent thereto, the compensation for the use of such ships and vessels to be arranged either by mutual agreement between the Admiralty and the owners or by the award of a board of arbitration.

On August 11, notification of the appointment of the members of this arbitration board was announced, and rules of procedure were set forth. On August 31, another notification was issued amending the constitution of the board. As first announced the board was composed of a president (Rt. Hon. Lord Mersey, P.C.), a vice president, and other members to be chosen from panels, including 9 government nominees and 38 representatives of various business interests. As amended the members in the panels were increased to 11 government nominees (including 4 naval officers), 53 representatives of business interests, and representatives of ships officers and crews, as follows: 14 ship owners, *2 general traders, 6 from the coasting trades, 2 oil tank steamer owners, 3 cargo owners,* 3 bankers, 6 underwriters, 5 from marine insurance companies, 6 (*2*) insurance brokers, 6 average adjusters, *2 deck officers, 2 marine engineers, 2 seamen, 1 seaman and fireman,* and *1 representing ships' stewards, etc.* Those indicated in italics were added to the panels in the second notification.

Under the rules of procedure, the arbitration boards were to consist of two members selected by the president, or of the president or vice president and two others selected by the president.

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* pp. 386-395.

A joint award by boards of the first named type should be final; and in case of disagreement the president should act as umpire. For boards of the second type the award of any two should be final.

The president might authorize the panel as a body, or any of them, to act as a board to consider questions of general application, the arbitrators to have regard to but not to be bound by the conclusions of such a board.

Board of Invention and Research

Shortly after the retirement of Admiral Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord, he was placed (July, 1915) at the head of a newly established Board of Invention and Research connected with the Admiralty. This board consisted of a central committee, comprising, in addition to Admiral Fisher as president, Professor J. J. Thomson, Honorable Sir Charles A. Parsons and Dr. G. T. Beilby, with a secretary, a naval assistant, a staff of assistant secretaries, and a consulting panel of 12 university professors of science, members of the Royal Society (including Sir Wm. Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge).[1]

In reply to a question in the House of Commons, on May 21, 1917, the functions of this board were described as follows:[2]

> (a) To concentrate expert scientific inquiry on certain definite problems, the solution of which is of importance to the naval service;
>
> (b) To encourage research in directions in which it is probable that results of value to the navy may be made by organized scientific effort;
>
> (c) To consider schemes or suggestions put forward by inventors and other members of the general public.

The board had funds for trials and experiments and acts in an advisory capacity to the Admiralty. The central committee met once a week, the consulting panel once in six weeks, and

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* v, 318; *British Imperial Calendar,* 1916, p. 235.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates* (1917), vol. 93: 1936.

subcommittees frequently. The president attended 54 sittings in 12 months. He received his salary as a retired officer (£1,350), and the naval member of the central committee received a salary of £1,530 a year. The salary of the resident director of research (£1,000) was refunded to the University of London; and the director of engineering research was allowed expenses up to £500 a year.

The Trade Division

This division of the Admiralty War Staff consists of a director, as adviser in commerce, a naval staff, a marine staff, a civil staff with clerks appointed for temporary service during the war.

The Prize Claims Committee

Notice was given on November 27, 1914, that a committee had been appointed to receive and consider claims made by British or neutral third parties against ships or cargoes condemned or detained by order of prize courts, and to recommend to what extent, in what manner and on what terms such claims should be provided for out of prizes funds. [1]

Prize Courts

In the United Kingdom

On August 5, 1914, an Order in Council was promulgated directing the issue of a commission under the Great Seal authorizing the Admiralty to require the High Court to take cognizance of and judicially proceed upon and determine captures, prizes, seizures and reprisals and to condemn German vessels and goods.

The same day the Prize Courts (Procedure) Act, 1914, became law, repealing certain provisions of the Naval Prize Act,

[1] Supplement No. 2 (Dec., 1914) to *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, p. 180; Supplement No. 4 (Aug. 31, 1915) p. 392.

1864; and an Order of Council set forth a series of provisional prize court rules. On September 17, the provisional rules were made statutory rules; and from time to time these rules have been amended.

On August 20, 1914, an Order in Council provided that during the war the Declaration of London should, subject to certain modifications, be put in force as if it had been ratified, and that all prize courts should construe and interpret the Declaration by the light of the commentary forming the general report of the drafting committee. The modifications affected the list of contraband, neutral vessels having carried contraband, evidence of destination, and the presumption of the knowledge of blockade.

An Order in Council of August 21 extended the jurisdiction of the prize court to Austro-Hungarian vessels and goods.

In the Dominions and Dependencies

The Prize Courts (Egypt, Zanzibar and Cyprus) Act, September 18, 1914, provided for the exercise of prize jurisdiction by certain British courts in Egypt, Zanzibar and Cyprus. On September 30, an Order in Council directed the issue of a commission under the Great Seal to require the British courts in Egypt, Zanzibar and Cyprus to act as prize courts. An Order in Council of February 3, 1915, extended the jurisdiction of these courts to include Turkish ships, vessels and goods.

On September 14, the Colonial Office issued a notification of the constitution of prize courts in the overseas dominions. Further notifications scheduling the constitution of additional colonial courts were issued from time to time—on October 8, 1914, December 31, 1914, and May 20, 1915. The last named showed the following list of prize courts:

In Australia, the supreme courts of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania; the supreme courts of the Bahamas, Bermuda, British Guiana and British Honduras; in Canada, the exchequer court of

Canada or local judges in admiralty at Quebec, Halifax, St. Johns, Victoria and Charlottetown; the supreme courts of Ceylon, Cyprus, Falkland Islands, Fiji, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Jamaica and Leeward Islands; the commercial court of Malta; the supreme court of Mauritius, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and Sierra Leone; in South Africa, the Cape of Good Hope and Natal provincial divisions of the supreme court; the supreme courts of the Straits Settlements and Trinidad; the royal court of St. Lucia (Windward Islands); His Britannic Majesty's Courts for Zanzibar and in Egypt; in India, the high courts of judicature at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and the court of the judicial commissioner in Sind; the chief court of Lower Burma; and the court of the Resident at Aden.

Central Administration

During the progress of the war there has been a series of important changes in the personnel of the highest positions in the British naval administration. These changes have indicated the development of new views as to the type of men best adapted for these posts, and have also involved some alteration in the organization of the central administration of the navy.

At the outset, the chief posts were held by Winston Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Lord Fisher as First Sea Lord, and Admiral Sir John Jellicoe in command of the main fleet. Churchill was a brilliant and impetuous political leader, for whom has been claimed the credit for having the main fleet mobilized for action when war was declared. He also initiated several venturesome actions, which were not successful, notably the use of naval reserves in the defense of Antwerp, and the naval attack on the Dardanelles. Lord Fisher had been the active leader in developing the policy of naval construction. Criticism of the Dardanelles attack brought forth the explanation that this had not been approved by Lord Fisher, but that he had not openly expressed opposition. Lord Fisher's resignation was a factor leading to the Cabinet reorganization of May, 1915.

In the Coalition Cabinet, Churchill's place was taken by Sir Arthur Balfour, formerly Prime Minister and leader of the Unionist party, older, more experienced and more conservative. Lord Fisher was replaced by Admiral Sir Henry Jackson; while, as has been noted, Fisher was given a new post as head of the newly established board of invention and research. Jellicoe remained in command of the main battle fleet. This leadership continued until the next Cabinet reorganization in December, 1916. This period was marked by a discontinuance of spectacular episodes, the maintenance of sea control, and the naval battle of Jutland, which resulted in the retirement of the German fleet to its base, but not in its destruction. But submarine attacks by the enemy were not suppressed and continued to increase.

When the Lloyd George Cabinet and Ministry was formed, at the end of 1916, Mr. Balfour was transferred to the Foreign Office; and at the head of the Admiralty was placed Sir Edward Carson, a younger and more energetic political leader, prominent as an opponent of Irish Home Rule, and, like his predecessors, without any special training in naval affairs. At the same time Admiral Jellicoe was called from the main fleet to be First Sea Lord; and the command of the fleet was given to Admiral Beatty. These changes suggested a somewhat more active policy, but did not result in any radical revolution in naval procedure. The submarine offensive of the enemy continued to increase.

These changes in the high command were followed by others and also by some administrative reorganization. A new anti-submarine division of the naval war staff was formed with an admiral of the grand fleet as director; and a director of naval air services was appointed as a fifth Sea Lord on the Admiralty Board.

In May, 1917, the former position of Controller of the Navy, as a member of the Admiralty Board, was revived and this post was given to Sir Eric Geddes, a successful business man who had shown marked executive ability in charge of the transport service for the British army on the Continent. The Controller of the Navy was made responsible for shipbuilding, not only for the

Admiralty, but also for the War Office and the Ministry of Shipping. Three deputy controllers were appointed, for dockyards and shipbuilding, for armament production and for auxiliary (mercantile) shipbuilding.[1]

On May 14, a naval staff was organized with the First Sea Lord as chief; and the deputy and assistant chief were made additional members of the Admiralty Board.

In addition to these individual changes in the highest positions, there have been numerous other transfers and changes not only within the navy and within the Admiralty, but also by transfer between the naval forces at sea and the administrative offices of the Admiralty. The general character of these changes has been set forth by a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* for June, 1917, apparently in reply to criticism of the Admiralty, as follows:

> So far as the Admiralty is concerned with naval policy [not civil work] that policy is settled and elaborated by officers of the navy with sea experience not inferior to that possessed by the officers at sea. The *personnel* of the Admiralty is fed from the fleet, and concurrently officers periodically leave the Admiralty for service afloat. At a rough estimate there must be between 400 and 500 officers of all ranks employed continuously at the Admiralty, and hardly a week passes but some exchange is made between Whitehall on the one hand, and the Grand Fleet or the patrol, submarine or destroyer services on the other. . . . Since the beginning of the present year over twenty-five per cent of the members of the War Staff have been appointed straight from the sea, where they had gained experience at first hand of the present phase of naval warfare. . . . The Admiralty draws its inspiration from the fleet, as the fleet draws its inspiration from the Admiralty. . . .
>
> The Admiral who was in supreme command of the Grand Fleet on May 31 [Jellicoe] is today First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and therefore, by immemorial custom, in control of naval policy, exercising his influence over the War Staff, which is under his direction, and over other sections of the administration. He is associated with Vice Admiral Sir Cecil Burney, a year ago second in command of the Grand Fleet and now Second Sea Lord, with Rear Admiral Lionel Halsey, then Captain of the Fleet and now Third Sea Lord, and with Rear Admiral Hugh H. D. Tothill, then in command of a battleship of the Grand Fleet and now Fourth Sea Lord. Each of these officers, on coming to the Admiralty, brought with him others on whom from experience he had learned to rely for assistance and support.

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 25 ff.

In July, 1917, when Sir Edward Carson was transferred to the War Cabinet, his place at the head of the Admiralty Board was given to Sir Eric Geddes. He had no more special training in naval matters than his predecessors; but the appointment of this business executive represented a new type of civil leadership for the navy, in marked contrast to the long line of Admiralty chiefs selected from the class of British political ministers.

The appointment of Sir Eric Geddes as First Lord was followed by further changes in the internal organization of the Admiralty. The Admiralty Board was divided into two committees, one dealing with problems of maintenance and the other with operations, each of which met at least once a week, while the full board also held weekly meetings. The First Lord acted as ex officio chairman of both committees, and Admiral Wemyss, who was appointed to a new position as Deputy First Sea Lord, served as liaison officer between the two committees. The naval staff was strengthened by adding directors of plans, of training and of mercantile movements. [1]

The effect of the reorganization of the Admiralty Board has been described as "to decentralize the administration, but at the same time to strengthen the control of the board over business as a whole and speed up the machinery of production and decision. [2]

These and other changes did not, however, satisfy the critics of the naval administration. Criticism tended to concentrate on Admiral Jellicoe, whose position had been somewhat weakened by the new post of Deputy First Sea Lord. Towards the end of 1917, Jellicoe was replaced as First Sea Lord by Admiral Wemyss. Perhaps, as a result, a more aggressive policy of naval action was shown in the naval attacks on Zeebrugge and Ostend, in the spring of 1918.

Detailed information as to the material expansion of the navy has not been made public. But the total displacement tonnage had increased from 2,400,000 tons in 1914 by 75 per cent at the

[1] *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1918, p. 693.
[2] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917.*

end of 1917. The total tonnage of vessels employed had risen from 4,000,000 tons in September, 1914, to 6,000,000 tons at the end of 1917. The number of auxiliary vessels had been increased from 23 in 1914 to 700 in 1917. The naval personnel had been enlarged from 145,000 to 420,000. The naval air service—which in 1914 had included 7 airships, about 100 airplanes and a personnel of 800—had grown in 1917 to 176 airships and balloons, 2,500 airplanes and a personnel of 46,000.[1]

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 35, 37.

CHAPTER V

Army Administration

In sharp contrast with the navy, the British army at the outbreak of the war comprised only a small volunteer force, insignificant in comparison with the armies of the other great nations of Europe recruited on the basis of universal military service. At the very outset of the war provisions were made for a large increase in the army; and further increases were authorized at frequent intervals. For more than a year the volunteer system was continued in form; but later the principle of compulsory service was introduced, and afterwards extended. The result was that from a nominal force of about 900,000 in all branches, and perhaps 600,000 enrolled in the regular army and the reserves, and about 100,000 available for immediate service, the army was increased to a total of more than 6,000,000 men.

This manifold expansion of the army necessarily involved a corresponding growth in the administrative organization, and much more important developments in the administrative agencies than in the field of naval administration. There have also been changes of first importance in the personnel of the higher posts, which have involved the application of new ideas and the selection of distinctly different types of officials for some of the highest positions. Nevertheless the main principles of the central administrative organization have remained substantially unchanged. A brief account of this system and its development, in comparison with that of the navy will serve to explain the changes made during the progress of the war.

Historical

Until the middle of the nineteenth century army administration formed a confused medley of conflicting jurisdictions; and

authority was distributed on no definite principles between the commander in chief, the Secretary at War (not often a member of the Cabinet), the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, the ordnance board, and the commissariat (a department of the Treasury). There was no central control over these separate offices.

As a result of defects disclosed in the Crimean War a more centralized system was organized. In 1854 a fourth Secretary of State, for War, was provided; and a year later the various civil departments of the army were transferred or absorbed by this War Office—including the functions of the Secretary at War, the ordnance board, the commissariat, the medical department and the auditing staff. The commander in chief, however, still retained an independent military control—this position being held by the Duke of Cambridge, first cousin to the Queen. [1]

After some minor changes, further reorganization was brought about by statute and Order in Council in 1870, mainly through the efforts of the Secretary of State for War, Edward Cardwell. General control was vested in the Secretary of State for War, with three main departments: military, under the commander in chief, whose headquarters were transferred to the War Office; supply, including munitions, commissariat, quarters and transport; and finance. At the same time the period of enlistment in the army was reduced to a maximum of 12 years; and a year later (1871), the purchase of army commissions was abolished by royal warrant. [2]

In 1888, by Order in Council, another redistribution was made, dividing the work of the War Office into military and civil services, both subject to the administrative control of the Secretary of State for War. In 1895, on the retirement of the Duke of Cambridge as commander in chief, the duties and importance of this office were reduced; and the heads of the several military staffs—the adjutant general, the quartermaster general, the inspector general of ordnance, and the inspector general of forti-

[1] Anson: *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, pt. ii, 2d ed., 374, 387.
[2] Owen Wheeler: *The War Office, Past and Present*, pp. 16, 17.

fications—were brought into direct relations with the Secretary of State for War.[1]

By these measures the general control and responsibility of the Secretary of State for War were increased; and the supremacy of civilian and political authority over the military was emphasized. But on the military side power and responsibility were dissipated; while as yet no provision was made for the comprehensive and systematic study of military policy or the conduct of war.

The South African War disclosed serious defects in army administration; and after investigations and reports by the Elgin commission in 1902 and a committee headed by Lord Esher in 1903-04, important changes were made in the central organization in 1904. Two years later by the establishment of an Army Council further changes affecting the army as a whole were made under the leadership of Secretary of State for War Haldane, including the establishment of a general staff, and a reorganization of the military forces.

The Army Council

The Army Council[2] was constituted by letters patent in 1904, and its organization and functions were defined by Order in Council of August 10 of that year. This body was organized on lines similar to the Admiralty Board, though with some points of difference. It consists of the Secretary of State for War as president, four military members, a civil and a finance member, and the Permanent Secretary of the War Office. The powers and duties may be executed by any three members; and documents may be signed by any two.

The Secretary of State for War was responsible to His Majesty and to Parliament for all the business of the Army Council; and the functions of the military members were not defined by the Order in Council, but were assigned from time to time by

[1] Anson: *op. cit.*, pp. 387, 388.

[2] *Constitutional Year Book*, 1916, p. 63; Owen Wheeler: *op. cit.*, pp. 294-304.

the Secretary of State. This officer was therefore, even more distinctly than the First Lord of the Admiralty, the administrative head of the War Office. Directly under the Secretary of State is his military secretary and a selection board, which presents names of officers for the various commands and for promotion up to the rank of major general.

The four military members of the Army Council are definitely appointed as Chief of the General Staff (who replaced the former commanding general), the Adjutant General, the Quartermaster General, and the Master General of Ordnance. They were responsible to the Secretary of State for the administration of so much of the business relating to the organization, disposition, personnel, armament and maintenance of the army as may be assigned to them by the Secretary of State. The usual assignment has given to the Chief of the General Staff supervision over military operations; and his position was thus in some respects comparable to that of the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, though less definitely indicated by the provisions of the Order in Council.

The Adjutant General has supervision over recruiting, training, education, discipline and organization of the army and the medical service. The Quartermaster General has charge of the administration of transport, remounts, veterinary, ordnance, supply (food, clothing and general stores), and barracks services. The Master General of Ordnance looks after the supply of armament, including arms and ammunition and coast defenses, and the manufacturing departments. These assignments place under each of these members certain directorates more definitely than in the Admiralty.

The Finance Member of the Army Council is responsible for the financial services, accounts and contracts. The Civil Member is responsible for the non-effective votes and the territorial forces. The Secretary of the War Office acts as secretary of the Army Council, and is charged with the internal administration of the War Office.

Two Inspectors General, acting under the Army Council but

not forming part of the War Office organization, were provided to inspect and report to the council on the practical results of the military system, including the training, efficiency and equipment of the troops, fortifications and defenses, and generally on the readiness and fitness of the army for war. One Inspector General covered the home forces and the other the overseas forces.

In addition to the above organization of the Army Council and the subordinate directorates, there were also, before the war, connected with the War Office the ordnance, army clothing and aircraft factories, a number of miscellaneous establishments (such as the judge advocate general, hospitals, paymasters, etc.) and many departmental and interdepartmental committees, both permanent and temporary, charged with various special problems. The total staff of the War Office was about 1,200, more than half of whom were civilians, and about 500 were active or retired army officers or soldiers.

War Office Organization

The general organization of the British War Office in 1916 is indicated by the following outline, in which the new positions and divisions created since the beginning of the war are given in italics, while those discontinued or transferred are included in brackets:[1]

The Army Council

The Secretary of State for War
- Military Secretary
- Selection Board

The Chief of the Imperial General Staff
- Director of Military Operations
- Director of Staff Duties
- Director of Military Training
- *Director of Military Intelligence*

The Adjutant General to the Forces
- [Director of Organization and Recruiting]
- [Director of Mobilization]

[1] Army Estimates, 1914-15, vote 12; Hart's Army List, 1915; *British Imperial Calendar*, 1916, pp. 452-466; *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1917, pp. 266 ff.

Director General of Recruiting
Inspector of Registration and Recruiting
Director of Organization
Inspector of Temporary Non-Effectives
Director of Personal Services
Director General Army Medical Service
Director of Prisoners of War
Director of Graves Registration
The Quartermaster General
Director of [Transport and] Movements
Director of Remounts
Director of Supplies and [Quartering] *Transport*
Assistant Director of Railway Transport
Director of Equipment and Ordnance Stores
Director General Army Veterinary Service
Inspector of Army Ordnance Service
Director of Quartering
Chief Inspector Quartermaster General's Services
The Master General of Ordnance
Director of Artillery
Director of Fortifications and Works
Director of Barrack Construction
Chief Technical Examiner for Works Services
Inspection and Experimental Staff and Research Department
Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for War
Director General of the Territorial Forces
Comptroller of Lands
Finance Member of the Army Council
Director of Financial Services
Chief Paymaster (Accounts)
Director of Army Contracts
Superintendent Central Army Pension Issue Office
Inspector of Army Pay Offices
Secretary of the War Office

Director General of Military Aeronautics
Director of Air Organization
Director of Aircraft Equipment
Judge Advocate General's Office
Chaplain General
Inspectors of the Home Forces Appointed for the War
The Army Medical Advisory Board

The Nursing Board
[The Territorial Forces Advisory Council]
The Army Purchase Commission
[The Ordnance Board]
[Ordnance Factories]
Royal Army Clothing Factory
Royal Aircraft Factory

The Army

Before 1914

Up to the time of the Revolution of 1689 the regular military forces in England were: (1) the feudal array (limited to brief periods of service) which declined with the commutation of military service into money payments; and (2) the trained bands or militia for the maintenance of order and home defense, in earlier times under the supervision of the sheriffs and later under the lords lieutenant of the counties. From time to time the Crown raised other forces; but opposition to a permanent standing army was confirmed by the experience of the Commonwealth; and the Bill of Rights declared the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament to be contrary to law.

Nevertheless a standing army has been regularly maintained since 1689 under the authority of the annual Army Acts, which provides for the forces to be raised and renews the code of military law for the maintenance of discipline. This army has ordinarily been recruited by voluntary enlistment; though compulsory service was applied to the militia from time to time.

Additional forces were the mounted yeomanry, placed on a statutory footing in 1804, and the volunteers, established on a statutory basis in 1863. But the militia, yeomanry and volunteers were largely transferred to the new territorial force, provided for in 1907, liable only for home service. The army reserve was first created in 1859, and was later regulated by the Reserve Forces Act of 1882, consisting of trained regulars retired after service; while a special reserve was established in

1907, to act as a source of supply for forces in the field. Provision was also made in 1907 for an expeditionary force, to be ready for immediate service abroad, comprising most of the regular army in Great Britain.

In addition to the regular and auxiliary forces of the home army, there was maintained an Indian army; and the various self-governing colonies have also provided for militia and other forces.

At the beginning of the war the numbers in the various branches of the military forces were as follows:[1]

Regular army, January 1, 1914:	
Home and colonial establishments	156,110
Indian establishment	78,476
Total	234,586
Army reserve	146,756
Special reserve (authorized 80,000)	63,089
Territorial force (authorized 315,000)	251,706
National reserve (old soldiers and sailors)	217,680
Grand total	913,817

Of these, about 366,000 might be considered as forming the first line—including the regular troops of the home and colonial establishments, and the army reserve and special reserve. The 251,000 of the territorial force might be considered a second line. A large proportion of the territorials promptly volunteered for foreign service; and within a few weeks about 80,000 of the national reserve had joined the regular army.

The original expeditionary force consisted of eight divisions. Six divisions (about 72,000) were landed in France at first; and the two others crossed in October and November.[2]

The total number of regular army officers was about 10,600, and the officers of the territorial force about 9,500; while there were about 25,000 in the Officers' Training Corps.

The Volunteer System

On the declaration of war, steps were rapidly taken to authorize a large increase in the army. The estimate in the annual

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, vi, p. 281.
[2] F. K. Puckle: *The Army Service Corps of the British Army*, p. 4.

army act authorized a regular army of 186,400. On August 6, 1914, an estimate authorizing an increase of 500,000 was voted. A further increase of 500,000 was authorized on September 10; and an additional million in November. Later a third million was authorized; and a fourth million on December 21, 1915.

The work of recruiting and enlisting the authorized forces proceeded more slowly. On August 7, 1914, a call was issued for the first contingent of 100,000, to be men between the ages of 19 and 30, to serve for three years or the war. Circulars were sent to the lords lieutenant of the counties and the chairmen of the territorial forces county associations. There was some misunderstanding of the situation and lack of organized effort; and it was not until August 25, that Lord Kitchener announced that the first 100,000 had been secured. Three days later a call for a second contingent of 100,000 was issued. The age limit was raised to 35 years and an appeal was made to married men.

On August 31, a Parliamentary Recruiting Committee was formed, consisting of nine members, representing different political parties, for the purpose of utilizing the machinery of the political parties and associations, both in London and throughout the country, in order to give general assistance to the work of recruiting. This committee worked through three departments: canvassing and information, meetings, and publications and publicity. It continued active work until the passage of the military service acts.[1] By September 15, 1914, the total number of recruits was announced to be over 500,000. On September 17, a new scale of separation allowances was issued; and on November 10, a new scale of pensions. On January 2, 1915, the formation of the fifth and sixth new armies was announced.

The new forces were brought together in part at the various permanent military camps—such as Colchester, Shorncliffe, Aldershot or Salisbury Plain—where the barracks vacated by the regular army were available towards the accommodations required; in part they were scattered in camps and billets in districts not previously occupied by troops. During the autumn and

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 157.

winter of 1914, both living quarters and equipment were often lacking; and improvised substitutes had to be used to a large extent. The voluntary system of recruiting was said to have been a great impediment to efficiency. The flow of recruits was uneven, and when slack, physical and mental standards were lowered; industry was disorganized; and in turn the work of training was interrupted by calls on the army for essential industries.

In the spring of 1915 a scheme of colliery recruiting courts was established by the Home Secretary; and in June a committee was appointed to consider the readjustment of conditions of employment in the distributing trades in Scotland so as to release men for enlistment or other national services.[1] During 1915 recruiting was also promoted by entrusting the raising of local units to county and municipal committees, cooperating with officers appointed by the War Office. In some places this plan was a pronounced success.[2]

But the need for other measures became more urgent. On May 18, the age limit was increased to 40 years, and the height standard reduced to 5 feet, 2 inches. On the formation of the Coalition Cabinet, steps were taken for a more systematic canvass of the population. On June 29, 1915, a national registration bill was introduced and rapidly enacted into law. The purpose of this act was to form a comprehensive register of the population between the ages of 16 and 65 (with certain exceptions), and their occupations, and to ascertain whether they were able and willing to perform other work. Men between the ages of 19 and 41 were listed on special blanks, and men engaged in government work or in essential war industries were starred.

Early in September an interdepartmental committee was created to advise the government as to the best method of utilizing the national register. On the 15th, Mr. Asquith made a statement that the total number in the army and navy (including those enlisted before the war, reservists, territorial forces, and special

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, pp. 150, 152.
[2] *The Nineteenth Century and After*, vol. 80, p. 881.

services) was not far short of three million men. Nevertheless further efforts were made to increase the forces. At the end of September a labor recruiting campaign was begun. Early in October the recruiting service of the army was reorganized, and placed in charge of civilians, with the Earl of Derby as director of recruiting. Arrangements were made for a canvass of the "unstarred" men and an examination of the "starred" list; married and unmarried men were listed in separate age groups, as a basis for determining the order of service; and khaki armlets were given to those who had enlisted or who had been excused on medical grounds.

These measures were obviously an approach to a policy of conscription; and to meet objections Mr. Asquith publicly announced on November 2, that married men who offered their services would not be called on unless substantially all unmarried men had been secured.

On December 4, the recruiting canvass was completed; and a report was made early in January, with the following results:

	Single Men	Married Men
Number of military age	2,179,231	2,832,210
Number starred	690,138	915,491
Number enlisted	103,000	112,431
Number attested—starred	312,067	449,808
Number attested—unstarred	527,933	895,171
Number rejected	207,000	221,853
Total	1,150,000	1,679,263
Number unaccounted for	1,029,231	1,152,947

Deducting the number of starred single men who had attested from the total of starred single men, and deducting this figure from the number of single men unaccounted for showed a total of 651,160 unstarred single men unaccounted for—about 43 per cent. [1]

Compulsory Service

The result of this canvass led to the introduction of compulsory military service for unmarried men, in order to fulfil Mr.

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, vi, 318.

Asquith's pledge to married men who had offered their services. A bill was introduced in the House of Commons on January 5, 1916, providing that unmarried men and widowers without children between the ages of 19 and 41 (with certain exemptions) should be deemed to have enlisted in His Majesty's forces. This was read a first time by a vote of 403 to 105; passed second reading on January 12, by a vote of 431 to 39; and after a brief committee stage passed a third reading on January 24, by a vote of 383 to 36. Two days later the bill passed the House of Lords; it received the Royal assent on January 27 and came into operation on February 10, 1916.

The administration of the military service law involved the creation of a new series of governmental agencies to pass on claims for exemption. Local tribunals of 5 to 25 persons were provided in every local registration district; and from the decisions of these any person could appeal to one of the appeal tribunals, from which on leave of the appeal tribunal a further appeal could be taken to the central tribunal for Great Britain.

By proclamation of February 10, the classes of unmarried men between the ages of 19 and 30 were summoned for March 2; further proclamations called up the remaining groups of unmarried men; on March 7, the attested married men between the ages of 19 and 26 were called; and later the remaining classes, those between the ages of 33 and 41, on April 27. On May 2, it was announced that the total military and naval effort exceeded five million men. [1]

A second military service act was passed in May, including all unattested men between the ages of 18 and 41, unless within the excepted classes, in those enlisted in the armed forces. This act also modified the grounds for exemption, and provided for the prolongation of expiring terms of service, and for the medical reexamination of men exempted at the first medical examination.[2] The bill for this act passed second reading in the House

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, viii, 133.
[2] 6 and 7 Geo. V, ch. 15. (May 25, 1916.)

of Commons by a vote of 328 to 36, and third reading by a vote of 250 to 35.

This act closed some of the means of escape from military service; but criticisms continued to be made of the system of local tribunals and the provisions for exemptions, exceptions and reservations. Conflicts between different government departments led, towards the end of September, to the appointment of a Man Power Distribution Board, to determine such questions as the allocation or economic utilization of man power, and to direct the departments concerned to create the machinery necessary to coordinate their activities. A good deal of improvement was said to have been effected by this board.[1]

Provisions for reopening the cases of men who had been excepted under the earlier military service acts were made in the Military Services (Review of Exceptions) Act, 1917.[2] A committee on the employment of conscientious objectors was established, to arrange for the most effective use of this class of those excused from military service.

The Army Service Corps

The enormous expansion of the army and the vast scale of military operations have necessitated a corresponding development in the services auxiliary to the combatant forces. Among these special attention may be given to the Army Service Corps, in charge of transport and supply.

Prior to 1870 the commissariat service for the British army had been created afresh for each war, and disbanded when the war was over. In that year the departments of transport and supply were united under one head; and in 1875 the commissariat and transport staff came into existence as a united body. In 1888 the Army Service Corps was reorganized.[3]

When war was declared a plan of organization previously prepared was put into force, under which all contracts and pur-

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* x, ch. 113, pp. 350, 353.
[2] 7 Geo. V, ch. 12.
[3] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* iv, ch. 66, p. 282.

chases were taken over by the War Office, and all food, forage and other stores were subjected to rigorous analysis and inspection. Magazines were established in home districts, with special depots for the army abroad, including several home bases and also bases in France—the latter at first at Boulogne, later at Amiens, Havre and St. Nazaire.[1] Advance bases were also established, and field depots at the railheads.

The problem of railway transportation became one of special importance. At the beginning of the war the government took control of all the railways in Great Britain. These were operated by an executive committee of railway managers, officially connected with the Board of Trade, cooperating with the War Office and the Army Transport Service. Prominent railway officials were appointed to important positions in the War Office; Sir Guy Granet, general manager of the Midland Railway, became Deputy Director General of Military Railways. Sir Eric C. Geddes, deputy general manager of the Northeastern Railway, after serving as Deputy Director General of Munitions Supply, was knighted in 1916 and made Director General of Movements and Railways, and Director General of Communications in France. Later he was transferred to the Admiralty, and he was succeeded at the War Office by Sir Guy Granet. Mr. Thornton, general manager of the Great Eastern Railway, became Honorable Lieutenant Colonel of the Engineer and Railway Staff Corps, and Deputy Director of Inland Waterways and Docks.[2]

One of the notable features of the war has been the development of motor transport for the armies in the field. After the South African War, Great Britain (like France and Germany) adopted a subsidy plan to ensure a supply of motor vehicles for use in war. A permanent mechanical transport committee was formed at the War Office, connected with the transport branch, under the Director of Transport and Movements, in the Quartermaster General's Department. In August, 1914, there was a re-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

[2] F. A. McKenzie: *British Railways and the War.* The administration of British railways under government control will be further discussed in another chapter.

organization, and this was transferred to a newly constituted mechanical transport branch, under the Director of Supplies and Transport.[1]

Subsidized vehicles and their drivers were first mobilized. Then other vehicles were impressed into service, and later the whole output of British factories able to produce suitable machines was requisitioned. For the first year, the main depot was in South London; but later a tract of land in the western district was secured. The organization for the supply of accessories and spare parts had its headquarters in London.

A variety of special types of vehicles was developed—including motor lorries or trucks for carrying supplies, motor ambulances, motor tractors for moving heavy guns, and armored cars for fighting purposes. The last named began with armoring ordinary touring cars; later special armored cars were built, culminating in the caterpillar "tanks," the design for which was worked out by the Director of Naval Construction.[2]

War Office Committees[3]

Among the hundreds of committees created to deal with special war problems, the following connected with the army and the War Office may be noted:

In addition to the parliamentary and local recruiting committees, other committees established to cooperate in raising the new armies included those on Retail Trade and Enlistment, the Enlistment of Aliens of Allied Nationality, the Release of Railwaymen for Military Service, and the Reserved Occupations Committee.

A *Prisoners of War (British) Treatment by the Enemy Committee,* of ten members, was organized in September, 1915, to collect, verify and record information as to British subjects made prisoners of war.

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* x, ch. 160, pp. 283-284.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 290-298.
[3] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917; Lists of Committees, etc., in Parliamentary Papers.

A *War Office Expenditures Committee,* of seven members. was provided in January, 1916, to consider possibilities of economy in army expenditure.

An *Army Canteen Committee* was created in April, 1916, consisting of sixteen members, with representatives of the military commands in the United Kingdom.

A *Soldiers' Liabilities Committee,* of twenty-three members, was appointed, in May, 1916, as an advisory body to deal with questions of principle and the administration of the scheme for enabling soldiers to meet their civil liabilities. This seems to have been expanded into the Military Service (Civil Liabilities) Department.

A *Wool Committee* was created in August, 1916, to advise the War Department on matters arising out of the purchase and distribution of English wool. This committee consisted of four representatives of agriculture, three Bradford merchants, three country merchants, six spinners and manufacturers, and three official representatives of the Board of Agriculture, the Board of Trade and the War Trade Department.

A *Prisoners of War (Central) Committee,* of eight members, was formed in September, 1916, to centralize and coordinate measures for the relief of prisoners of war.

A *Prisoners of War (Employment) Committee* was reconstituted in January, 1917, to consider applications for the employment of prisoners of war.

Other committees and agencies were provided on Army Contracts, Army Supplies Commercial Department, Army Chaplains Advisory Committee, Interdepartmental Army Chaplains Advisory Committee, Expeditionary Forces Canteen Committee, Expeditionary Forces Sanitary Committee, Permit Office, Prisoners of War Help Committee, Promotion of Officers, Distribution of War Trophies, Raw Materials Finance Branch, Requisitioning (Carriage of Foodstuffs), and Soldiers' Dependents Appeal Assessments.

The War Office was also represented on other interdepartmental committees and commissions, such as the Committee on

the Official History of the War, the Defense of the Realm Regulations Committee, the National Register Committee, the Prisoners of War Interdepartmental Committee, the *Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement,* and the Dardanelles and Mesopotamia Commissions.

Medical Research Committee[1]

Brief mention may be made of some phases of the work of the Medical Research Committee. During 1915 special attention was given to an investigation of cerebrospinal fever, in a central laboratory at the Royal Army Medical College, with 37 district laboratories at various points throughout the country. Another investigation of dysentery led to the discovery of a remedy for curing the dysentery carrier. The campaign against typhoid fever was an important part of the work; and other studies resulted in the discovery of a valuable new antiseptic.

Graves Registration

A special branch or directorate of the Adjutant General's department was established to take charge of the registration and care of the graves of British soldiers. This was made responsible not only for graves in France and Belgium, but also for those in Egypt, the Balkans and Mesopotamia, and for recording those in the United Kingdom. In March, 1917, the number of graves registered in France and Belgium was more than 150,000.

In January, 1916, on the proposal of the army, the Prime Minister appointed a National Committee for the Care of Soldiers' Graves, to take over the work of the directorate after the war, with the Prince of Wales as chairman. Commissioners were appointed by the Dominion to serve on this committee, and also a representative from India.

At the Imperial War Conference, in the spring of 1917, a resolution was adopted for an Imperial War Graves Commission, to

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* xi, ch. 108, pp. 54, 68.

be constituted by Royal Charter; and the draft of a charter for this purpose was considered and revised.

A memorandum from the Director of Graves Registration was presented to the Imperial Conference, reporting that the French Government had undertaken the cost of providing in perpetuity the land for the graves of Allied soldiers in French territory; and that negotiations were under way with regard to Belgian territory. [1]

Central Administration

Dissatisfaction with the organization of the War Office and the central administration of the army has been actively expressed from time to time; and important changes both in personnel and organization have been made during the progress of the war. Commenting on the administrative changes of the twenty years before the war, one writer has said: [2]

> The changes which have taken place in the constitution of the supreme authority over the armed forces of the Crown since the resignation of the late Duke of Cambridge have not yet brought about a permanent settlement, and a tendency exists to create different mechanism for each successive chief of the military system. Earl Roberts had not the same position precisely as Viscount Wolseley; the creation of the Army Council by the Balfour administration was a revolutionary change, which in turn was somewhat altered for the benefit of each successive Chief of the General Staff, Sir Neville Lyttleton, Lord Nicholson, and Viscount French; while the appointment of Lord Kitchener, at the beginning of the present war entirely changed the constitution of the War Office. Kitchener's administration was moreover profoundly affected by fresh arrangements introduced during his tenure of office, and these arrangements have had to undergo further modifications on the accessions of a new Secretary of State for War. In short there seems no appearance of finality in an organization which the highest interests of the state require to be securely fixed on a sound basis for peace and war, and which should proceed uninterruptedly with its all important functions undisturbed by changes and chances of a nature to destroy the continuity and therefore the efficiency of its work.

[1] Extracts from the *Proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 1917*, pp. 133-134.

[2] Cecil Battine, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 80: 867-880 (October, 1916). "The Ministry of War and the Military Executive."

Criticism tended to be directed mainly at what was called the overcentralization of responsibility in the War Office in the Secretary of State for War. The writer above quoted states:

> The principal authority at the time was vested in a slovenly makeshift manner in the Secretary of State for War, who was apparently expected to do the double task of being War Minister and of commanding the army, with the natural result that the duties of both officers were very imperfectly performed. The War Minister failed to arrange for the vital requirements of the army in the matter of munitions during that first fateful winter, and the departments of organization and command were managed in the most reckless and haphazard manner.[1]

Another writer states that

> More and more the war outgrew the possibilities of an organization the central feature of which was the concentration of responsibility in Lord Kitchener's hands, while every day increased the necessity for delegation of responsibility.[2]

It is worth noting that along with this criticism of the army administration for excessive centralization went an active criticism of the government as a whole, and at times of the Admiralty, for a lack of centralized responsibility. These different lines of criticism seem to conflict with each other; and it may be that deeper than any general principle of administrative organization was the magnitude of the problems to be met, and the difficulty of finding the most effective men for the leading positions.

In any event, along with the centralizing tendencies in the Cabinet, there has gone a movement in the opposite direction in the War Office. The creation of the Ministry of Munitions in May, 1915, was the first large encroachment upon the powers and responsibilities of the Secretary of State for War, placing in a new and distinct department control over the supply of arms and munitions. The reorganization of the recruiting service under the Earl of Derby, although it continued to form part of the War Office organization, seems to have involved a substantial delegation of power from the War Minister to the civilian Director General of Recruiting.

[1] Cecil Battine, *op. cit.*
[2] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* x, ch. 163, p. 344.

Just before Christmas, 1915, the Imperial General Staff was reorganized, with Sir William Robertson as its Chief. Shortly afterwards an Order in Council (January 27, 1916) provided that: "The Chief of the General Staff shall be responsible for issuing the orders of the government in regard to military operations." This meant that Robertson would enjoy far greater powers than the Chief of the General Staff had hitherto enjoyed, and that orders to commanders would go out in his name and no longer in that of the Secretary of State for War. Even after this, the conditions at the War Office remained the subject of severe criticism. [1]

Commenting on conditions in the latter part of 1916, one writer, already quoted, has stated:

> At the present moment the supreme authority is vested upon sounder principles in the Chief of Staff and the Commander of the Army in France; but the arrangement would seem to be temporary, nor is it quite clear which of these two officers is the chief, or whether they are in a manner equal in authority within their own spheres. There is in fact no military chief of the whole army. The plan too of having the Ministry of Munitions independent of the Ministry of War is not logical, and, though it may have been necessary as an emergency measure, it should not be permanent. . . .
>
> The mechanism of the supreme command should be vested in a single military officer. It is not of the greatest importance whether he is called Commander in Chief or Inspector General. He should have the collaboration of a principal lieutenant, his Chief of Staff. Commanders of armies in the field, as of military districts at home, should be subject to his authority, though of course a competent chief will delegate wide powers as the case may command. The heads of administrative departments, the Adjutant General, Quartermaster General, and the head of the Ordnance Department, have no logical right to sit on an Army Council, to confer with the Cabinet, or to share in the executive command. They have enough to do to control the great departments under the supreme commander of the army. But such a Commander in Chief can not either in peace or war dispense with the help of assistants which in Germany are known as the General Staff at Headquarters.[2]

After discussing the abuse of the term General Staff, and the unsatisfactory method of selecting and training staff officers, this writer adds:

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* x, ch. 163, p. 344.
[2] Cecil Battine, *op. cit.*

There is one concrete reform which should be delayed no longer. The titular military chief of the army should alone be responsible for the promotion of all the officers of the army.

On the tragic death of Lord Kitchener in June, 1916, Mr. Lloyd George was transferred from the Ministry of Munitions to be Secretary of State for War. The experiment of a military officer as the administrative head of the War Department was thus abandoned; and a return made to the usual British practice of placing this office in the hands of a civilian with political experience. This custom was continued when Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister, by naming as Secretary of State for War the Earl of Derby, who had been Director General of Recruiting and later Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the War Office.

The Allied War Council established in the latter part of 1917 with a permanent staff of military officers at Versailles raised questions as to the relative authority of the joint Allied body and the general staffs of the several countries. At a meeting of the Allied War Council in February, 1918, it was decided that the joint staff should exercise executive authority and that the British representative should be a member of the Army Council. This led to the retirement of General Robertson as Chief of the British General Staff, as he was unwilling to divide authority with the joint staff or to serve as the British member on the joint staff. General Wilson, who had been serving as British representative on the joint staff, was appointed as Chief of the British General Staff, and General Rawlinson as British representative on the joint staff.

Definite information as to the distribution of authority between the joint staff and the general staffs of the several governments is still lacking. The new arrangement was supported as a necessary measure for centralizing control over the military movements of the Allied forces. But it also appeared that the Chief of the British General Staff had not been made distinctly subordinate to the joint Allied staff; and so far as the British army was concerned the new arrangement appeared to involve a

dual set of coordinate authorities, and a further decentralization of power.

Following the German attacks beginning in March, 1918, a more complete centralization in the military command of the Allied armies in Western Europe was accomplished by the selection of General Foch as Commander in Chief. To the unity of command thus established has been ascribed much of the success of the military operations during the latter part of this year, even by some who had criticized the partial measures taken during the previous winter.

Attention may, however, be called to the problem, thus far not publicly discussed, of reconciling the criticism of the overcentralization in the hands of Lord Kitchener with the commendation of the concentration of authority in Marshal Foch.

CHAPTER VI

Munitions and Aircraft

The magnitude of military operations and the development of new devices, materials and methods of warfare in the present contest has vastly increased the problem of supplying the combatant forces with their fighting equipment; and the attempts to solve this problem have involved the creation of new administrative agencies, and a tremendous expansion in government industries and government control of private plants. After a variety of temporary expedients had been tried, a new government department of the first rank was established, under a Minister of Munitions, to deal with the supply of arms and munitions. Later the growing importance of aircraft led to the formation of another government department for this work. This chapter will present the steps leading to the creation of these novel departments of public administration, and their organization and activities.

Munitions Administration

The First Period

Under the organization existing at the outbreak of the war, the British Government had several ordnance factories—at Woolwich, Waltham Abbey, and Enfield Lock—for the manufacture of arms for the army, under the department of the Master General of Ordnance in the War Office. There was also a Royal Aircraft Factory. The Admiralty had other ordnance factories for naval armament. But munitions of war were also furnished to a large extent by contracts with five or six large private establishments.

In the autumn of 1914, after consultation with the leading armament concerns, it was decided to extend greatly the system

of subcontracting—letting out the less difficult work to other concerns which could adapt their plants most readily. Under this policy from 2,500 to 3,000 business concerns were involved in the production of munitions.

As the need for further increasing the supplies became more evident, there was appointed, early in February, 1915, a Board of Trade Committee on Production, to inquire into and report on the best way to enlarge the output from the engineering and shipbuilding establishments. This committee reported, on February 20, that "there was a present and continuously increasing need for shells and fuses"; and recommended a rearrangement of piece work terms and a greater employment of female labor.[1]

In the same month, an arbitration tribunal of five members was formed to deal with questions of production in engineering and shipbuilding establishments.[2]

On March 19, a War Output National Advisory Committee, of six members, was formed, "to increase and accelerate the output and to see that the provisions of the Treasury agreement are observed in war work."[2]

An amendment to the Defense of the Realm Act, passed in the same month, extended the powers of the government over munitions factories. Regulations, issued on March 24, authorized the Admiralty or the Army Council to occupy premises for housing workmen, to requisition the output and take possession of factories and to regulate their operation.

In April, several additional committees were created. On the 7th, a War Office Committee was announced, "to take the necessary steps to provide such additional labor as may be required to secure that the supply of munitions of war shall be sufficient to meet all requirements." Mr. G. M. Booth, an energetic shipowner, was an active member of this committee, which became known by his name. This committee was in the main a recruiting agency for the armament works, competing for men with the recruiting agents for the army. A few days later a North

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, v, ch. 93, pp. 304, 402, 403.

[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917.

East Coast Armaments Committee was formed, representing the government departments, the employers and the men. Other local munitions committees were formed at Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, Glasgow, Dublin and elsewhere.[1]

Several days afterwards a general Munitions of War Committee was established, with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd George) as chairman, and including representatives of the Admiralty, the War Office, the Treasury, the Board of Trade, and other departments; to ascertain the extent of the problem, and to map out the country and to draw every available factory and workshop into the scheme. This formed a large step towards setting up a new department; and left the War Office to concentrate upon the task of organizing and training the new armies.

The Ministry of Munitions

On the formation of the Coalition Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George was transferred to the new position of Minister of Munitions. An act establishing the Ministry of Munitions was soon passed, and became law on June 9, 1915; and was followed on June 16 by an Order in Council defining the scope of the office. On July 2, a more comprehensive Munitions of War Act went into force.

The Ministry of Munitions Act[2] is brief, providing for the appointment of a Minister of Munitions, who "shall have such administrative powers in relation to the supply of munitions for the present war as may be conferred on him by His Majesty in Council," or as may be transferred from a government department or authority. The Minister of Munitions may appoint such secretaries, officers and servants as he may determine. The Minister and two secretaries may be members of the House of Commons. The Ministry is to cease not more than twelve months after the cessation of the present war. Munitions are defined as "anything required to be provided for war purposes, and include

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, v, pp. 307, 403-406.
[2] 5 and 6 Geo. V, c. 51.

arms, ammunition, warlike stores or material, and anything required for equipment or transport purposes or for or in connection with the production of munitions."

The Munitions of War Act [1] is important, not only as the working basis for the new Ministry, but as a document making a far-reaching extension of government control of industry, including both labor and the profits of the employer. [2] The act is divided into three parts: Part I makes provisions for the settlement of labor disputes in munitions works, prohibits strikes and lock-outs in certain cases, and provides for the extension of these provisions by Royal Proclamation to other than munitions work, if prejudicial to the supply of munitions of war. Part II deals chiefly with the limitations on profits, the suspension of rules and practices restricting output, and the employment and protection of munitions workers in controlled establishments. Net profits are limited to one-fifth more than the standard amount, for the two financial years before the war, with provisions for referees. Differences between employers and employes and questions as to restrictive rules and practices are to be referred to the Board of Trade. Part III includes provisions authorizing the Minister of Munitions to obtain information as to persons, machines and works in any establishment; and provides for munitions tribunals, one class to deal with all offenses under the act, and the other to deal only with any contravention of the regulations in controlled establishments—these tribunals to be chosen equally from panels representing employers and employes.

An amending act of January 27, 1916, made further provisions for the control of wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment; extended the definition of munitions work to include ships or vessels, and certain classes of buildings and public utilities; defined the powers of inspectors; and provided for appeals from the decisions of munitions tribunals to a judge of the high court. [3]

[1] 5 and 6 Geo. V, c. 54.
[2] *The Political Quarterly,* No. 7 (1916), p. 155.
[3] 5 and 6 Geo. V, c. 99.

Administrative Organization

The new Ministry has to deal, on the one side, with the supply of material, with factory equipment and with the correlation of output. On the other side, it is concerned with the supply of labor and the conditions of employment, and also with the limitation of profits. Both on the side of material and mechanical organization, the Ministry of Munitions has exercised an influence of great importance not only on the immediate situation, but also on the future of industrial production and the relations of labor and capital to one another and to the government.

To carry out its manifold functions a complex and many sided organization has been developed, both at the central offices and in local districts. The nucleus of the Ministry was formed by the staff of the Cabinet Committee on Munitions with that of the Armaments Output Committee established at the War Office under Lord Kitchener. To these were rapidly added some older sections of the War Office organization, such as the branch dealing with contracts for warlike stores and the committee for the production of high explosives. New transfers from the War Office were made; and by the end of 1915 the scope of the Ministry covered the supply of arms, ammunition, explosives, optical munitions materials, trench warfare supplies, munitions contracts, munitions finance, inspection, invention, design and the administration of the Royal ordnance factories. [1]

The main headquarters organization in 1916 is shown in the following outline: [2]

Minister of Munitions
Four Parliamentary Secretaries
Secretariat and Labor Supply Department
    Director of Munitions Recruiting
    Director of Housing Construction
Munitions Supply Department
    Director General
    3 Deputy Directors General

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, p. 68.
[2] *British Imperial Calendar*, 1916, p. 409 a-d.

16 Directors
Chief Superintendent Royal Ordnance Factories
Minister of Ordnance Board
Chief Inspector, Woolwich
Chief Inspector of Small Arms
Explosives Supply Department
Director General
Deputy Director General
3 Directors
General Manager Factories
Trench Warfare Supply Department
Director General
Deputy Director General
Adviser on Trench Ordnance
Scientific Advisory Committee
Scientific Commercial Committee (6 members)
Munitions Inventions Department
Controller
Secretary
Panel of Advisory Experts

The several departments of the Ministry were scattered in a number of different buildings, in and near Whitehall.

During the year 1916, the Ministry of Munitions was further charged with the storage of gun ammunition, supply of "tanks," supply of tractors for heavy howitzers, supply of railway materials for the army, supply of mechanical transport vehicles, and the supply of chemical glass and laboratory ware.

By the latter part of 1916, the administrative organization of the Ministry had expanded, as follows:[1]

Minister of Munitions
Parliamentary Secretaries
General Secretaries
Secretariat
Assistant General Secretary
Requirements and Statistics Branch
Establishments Branch
Special Intelligence Branch

[1] *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1917, pp. 234-237.

Department of Munitions Finance
- Assistant Financial Secretary
- Director of Munitions Finance
- Director of Munitions Accounts

Controlled Establishments Division
- Assistant General Secretary

Department of Munitions Design
- Director General
- Trench Warfare Research Division

Department of Munitions Supply
- Director General
- Director of Area Organization
- Director of Contracts
- Director of Steel Production and Factory Construction

Department of Ordnance Supply
- Director General
- Controller of Gun Ammunition Filling
- Royal Ordnance Factories, Woolwich
- Small Arms Factory, Enfield

Department of Shell Manufacture
- Controller

American and Transport Department
- Director General
- Director of Railway Materials
- Director of Overseas Transport
- Director of Optical Munitions
- Director of American Office
- Director of Railway Transport

Department of Mechanical Transport Supply
- Director General

Department of Mechanical Warfare Supply
- Director General

Department of Munitions Inspection
- Director General

Department of Munitions Labor Supply
- Director General

Munitions Labor Regulation Department
- Deputy Assistant General Secretary

Department of Explosives Supply
- Director General

Department of Trench Warfare Supply
- Director General

Department of Munitions Invention
- Controller

In 1917, the functions of the Ministry were still further extended to include the supply of aeroplanes, agricultural machinery supply, the manufacture, use and distribution of sulphuric acid, and (after June) the supply of fuel oils; and the administrative organization of the Ministry was again expanded and elaborated to care for these additional activities. At the end of 1916 a central clearing house for allocating machine tools was organized. In February, 1917, a special organization was formed for scrap metals and salvage; and in March a department of nonferrous metals was formed.

The various departments in the Ministry were at first formed into three groups—Supply, Finance and Secretariat—each under a separate head. But this arrangement soon broke down, and the several departments became practically independent, the head of each having direct access to the Minister, who was assisted by an Advisory Council of seven heads of important departments. In August, 1917, a Munitions Council was established, consisting of the Minister, two Parliamentary Secretaries and ten other members, each of the latter being assigned to a group of departments. The relation of the members of the council to the departments has not been altogether clear or consistent. Apparently the heads of the subdepartments have more liberty of reference to the Minister than has been usual with subordinate officers in a government ministry. The several groups appear to have been formed on the basis of convenience, and sometimes on an accident of personality, rather than relationship or a logical scheme. A strictly logical hierarchy has probably been impossible; and the smooth working of the departments under the council is an indication of the patriotic spirit and tact of the officials. But the Munitions Council can not be compared with the Army Council or the Admiralty Board, in each of which there are more or less clearly defined divisions assigned to each member. A munitions council based on well defined branches could be smaller than the present body. [1]

[1] Select Committee on National Expenditure, 1918, First Report. *Parliamentary Papers,* 1918, No. 23.

The general plan of organization at the end of 1917 was as follows:[1]

Minister of Munitions
- Two Parliamentary Secretaries
- Representative in the House of Lords
- Munitions Council—Secretary
- Requirements and Statistics Department
- Parliamentary and General Department—Assistant Secretary
- Establishment Department—Assistant Secretary
- American Department—Assistant Secretary
- Special Intelligence
- Special Services
- Priority Department—Controller

Munitions Council—Group F
- Finance Department—Controller
- Contracts Department—Controller
- Salvage and Stores Department—Controller
- Munitions Works Board—Chairman
- Lands Department—Director General

Munitions Council—Group D
- Design Department—Controller
- Inspection Department—Controller
- Trench Warfare Department—Director
- Chemical Warfare Department—Controller
- Inventions Department—Controller

Munitions Council—Group S
- Iron and Steel Production—Controller
- Factory Construction—Director

Munitions Council—Group M
- Raw Materials (nonferrous) Department—Controller
- Railway Materials Department—Director
- Optical Munitions, Glassware and Potash Production Department—Controller
- Overseas Transport Department—Director
- Forwarding Department—Director
- Inland Transport Department—Director
- Mineral Resources Development Department—Controller
- Government Rolling Mills—Director

Munitions Council—Group X
- Explosives Supply Department—Director General

[1] *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1918, pp. 225 ff.

Mineral Oil Department—Director
Trench Warfare Chemical Supplies—Controller
Munitions Council—Group P
Gun Ammunition Manufacture—Controller
Gun Ammunition Filling—Controller
Trench Warfare Supply—Controller
Timber Supplies—Director
Area Organization—Director
Small Arms Ammunition—Controller
Central Clearing House—Director
Munitions Council—Group G
Gun Manufacture—Controller
Gun Forgings—Director
Trench Guns and Howitzers—Controller
Small Arms and Machine Guns—Controller
Gun Statistics—Director
Munitions Council—Group E
Aeronautical Supplies—Controller
Mechanical Machinery—Controller
Agricultural Machinery—Director
Machine Tools—Controller
Mechanical Transport—Director
Petrol Engines—Controller
Electric Power Supply—Director
Munitions Council—Group L
Labor Regulation Department
Labor Supply Department
Munitions Council—Group A
Imperial Munitions Board, Canada

The headquarters staff at first numbered less than 200. By March 31, 1916, it had increased to 4,785; by June 30, to 5,305 and by June 30, 1917, to 12,190. This included unpaid officials, officials and employes from other departments and those paid by the Ministry. Nearly half were women. The monthly salaries for June, 1916, amounted to £65,333, and for June, 1917, to £163,815.[1]

In July, 1915, the total staff of the Ministry consisted of 8,761 persons. In 1917 it included nearly 40,000 in the United King-

[1] *Solicitors Journal*, August 4, 1917, p. 670.

dom, with more than 8,000 additional in the United States of America. In March, 1916, women composed 28 per cent of the total staff; in 1917 they formed 61 per cent, numbering about 29,000.[1]

For localized administration the United Kingdom has been divided into eleven areas, in each of which has been placed an office of the Ministry, with a secretary, superintending engineer, trench warfare supply engineer, admiralty representative, a labor officer and in some cases a railway transport officer. The function of the area office is locally to look after the development of the production of munitions, and the administration of the Munitions of War Act, and to report to and advise the central office.

The munitions areas have been, as a rule, divided into munitions districts, each having a local munitions committee (a consultative body) and a board of management which directs the manufacture of munitions in national shell factories or arranges for their manufacture by means of a cooperative scheme. In some districts there have been subdistricts, each with its local munitions committee.

In Ireland no districts have been established; but the work of placing contracts and of direction has been carried out by the two area offices at Dublin and Belfast.

In the Metropolitan area (including Surrey, Kent and southern Essex), the administration has been divided into eleven districts, each with a district manager in charge.

The aim has been to provide a large measure of decentralization, with common lines of policy and control determined by the central department and its inspectorate.[2]

Additional Committees[3]

In addition to the internal organization of the new department, there began to appear before long a new series of committees, to deal with special problems relating to the supply of munitions:

[1] C. Addison: *British Workshops and the War*, p. 14.
[2] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 7 (1916), p. 158.
[3] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917.

A Munitions Advisory Committee was provided to consider general problems.

A Controlled Establishments Profits Board of Referees heard appeals by owners of controlled establishments, not satisfied with the standard rate of dividend fixed by the Minister of Munitions.

The Central Control Board for the Liquor Traffic, established in June, 1915, was appointed by the Minister of Munitions.

As early as July, 1915, a Munitions Parliamentary Committee was formed, composed of 60 members of the House of Commons, to encourage munitions workers to maintain and increase production. Meetings were held at various works addressed by members of Parliament, and pamphlets were prepared and issued.

A Munitions Labor Supply Committee was organized in September, with 17 members, including representatives from the National Labor Advisory Committee and the Ministry of Munitions and other members, to advise as to the transfer of skilled labor and the use of semi-skilled and unskilled labor. This committee reported to the Ministry of Munitions and to the Admiralty.

A Health of Munitions Workers Committee was appointed about the same time, with the concurrence of the Home Secretary, "to consider and advise on questions of industrial fatigue, hours of labor, and other matters affecting the personal health and physical efficiency of workers in munitions factories and workshops." This committee was composed of Sir George Newman, M.D., chairman, three representatives from the Factory Department of the Home Office, three physicians, one member of Parliament and the Secretary of the Medical Research Committee.

As a result of its investigations, a series of memoranda was prepared and issued on: Sunday labor, welfare supervision, industrial canteens, employment of women, hours of work, canteen construction and equipment, industrial fatigue and its causes, special industrial diseases, ventilation and lighting of munitions factories and workshops, and sickness and injury. These showed the need for preserving and the danger of abandoning regula-

tions and restrictions for the protection of labor, in the interest of the greatest efficiency.

A Building Labor Interdepartmental Committee, of fifteen members, was created in October, 1915, to control and regulate the rates of wages paid to building labor on the construction of buildings for the production of munitions of war.

A Committee on Women in Munitions Work was appointed, in November, 1916 (consisting of nine members, including six women), to consider the question of the supply and organization of women's service (whether voluntary or paid) in canteens, hostels, clubs, and other agencies connected with the welfare of munitions workers, and to advise what steps should be taken in connection therewith.

A Munitions Ordnance Committee was established in April, 1916, composed of thirteen army and navy officers.

In November, 1916, a Metals for Munitions Committee, of three members, was appointed to advise on steps to secure the most economical use of metals required for munitions of war.

In December, a special committee was appointed to advise the Ministry of Munitions on the purchase and distribution of copper; and another committee to advise and consult with the Ministry of Munitions as to the needs of the users of bleaching powder.

In January, 1917, an Agricultural Machinery Advisory Committee was formed, with six members, representatives of the Ministry of Munitions, the Board of Agriculture and the Food Controller, to advise the agricultural machinery branch of the Ministry of Munitions.

Other committees and agencies established in connection with the work of the Ministry of Munitions include the following:[1]

Anti-aircraft Equipment Committee
Explosions at Government Controlled Factories Committee
High Explosives Committee
Munitions Boards of Management Executive Committee
Munitions Hours of Labor Committee

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8741.

Munitions Interallied Bureau
Munitions Inventions Panel
Munitions Labor Priority Committee
Munitions Priority Committee
Munitions Works Board
Central Clearing House for Machinery
Oils and Fats Branch
Trench Warfare Chemical Advisory Committee
Trench Warfare Commercial Advisory Committee
Trench Warfare Mines Committee
Trench Warfare Advisory Panel
Trench Warfare Supply Department, Chemical Section

Financial Arrangements

Some time was required for the development of the system of finance administration for the new Ministry of Munitions. Up to July 1, 1915, expenditure was charged to one of the army votes. The accounting officer for the War Office continued for a time to be responsible for expenditures transferred from the War Office; but later (from October 1) a separate accounting officer was appointed for the new Ministry.

In November, 1915, a committee of three members was appointed to review the expenditure of the Ministry of Munitions, and to secure economy. Expenditures were made in conformity with general rules governing War Office expenditure, set forth in Treasury Minutes early in the war; but the relations between the new Ministry and the Treasury were not clearly defined until a Treasury Minute of January 1, 1916. A later Treasury Minute, of October 26, 1916, provided for an interdepartmental emergency committee (including representatives of the Treasury and the Ministry of Munitions) to deal with proposals for expenditures in the same manner as the standing committee appointed at the outbreak of the war for emergency naval expenditure.

Under the rules laid down, the Treasury named the heads of accounts and asked to be informed of contracts. Lump sums were approved for buildings and works; but Treasury sanction was

necessary for fixing rates of wages and for purchasing land or leasing for more than seven years. An amendment to the Defense of the Realm Regulations, February 15, 1916, secured to the Ministry control over prices, in common with the Admiralty and the War Office, by authorizing the requisition of the output of any factory at a fair cost, as shown by the contractors' accounts. In the early months of the Ministry there was lack of coordination and wide differences between the different branches of the Ministry in fixing prices and making contracts.

After some time a Munitions Finance Committee and a Munitions Financial Advisory Committee were established. Criticism was made of the financial organization because the finance department of this Ministry was coordinate with the several supply departments; while in the Admiralty and the War Office one of the Parliamentary Secretaries was specially assigned to finance matters. [1]

These criticisms of the financial arrangements in the Ministry of Munitions were repeated by the Select Committee on National Expenditure, which recommended that one Parliamentary Secretary in this Ministry be charged with financial matters; [2] and this has since been provided.

Further criticism of the continuation of lax financial methods was made in the report of the Controller and Auditor General on the expenditure of the Ministry of Munitions during the year 1916-17.

> Vast quantities of materials and components of immense value have been issued "free" to various contractors . . . no adequate record of issues from the Ministry's stocks . . . was kept . . . nor had any effective steps been taken to the end of 1916-17 to secure that . . . an equivalent . . . had been returned. . . . There had also been failure to keep an accurate and complete record of repayable cash advances made to the firm.

The result was that firms were paid twice, advances were not recovered, interest was not claimed. One firm received

[1] Ministry of Munitions Appropriation Account, in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, No. 40, and Report of the Controller General; *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 155.

[2] First Report, September, 1917.

as much as £6,000,000 in loans, and took advantage of the laxness to cease making its monthly repayments; this was apparently never noticed in the Ministry, and the loan had not been repaid at the date of the controller's report. [1]

The Munitions Industry

Something of the scope and success of the Ministry of Munitions may be indicated by presenting some statistical data as to the development of the munitions industry in Great Britain since the organization of the new department.

Early in August, 1915, there were 345 controlled establishments operating under the supervision of the Ministry. By October of that year there were 1,000 such controlled establishments; 20 national factories had been established, and 11 more were under way; and 18 cooperative areas had been organized. Nearly 1,000,000 people were employed in the government and controlled establishments on munitions productions. [2]

By the latter part of the summer of 1916, there were 4,300 controlled establishments employing more than 2,000,000 workers (some 400,000 women) engaged in constructing gun carriages, ammunition wagons, and other supplies. There were 95 national factories working for the land services—20 manufacturing explosives and materials, 18 filling gun and trench mortar ammunition, 6 making cartridges and cartridge cases, 32 shell factories operated by local boards of management, and 12 heavy projectile factories. [3] Later in 1916, there were 53 shell factories, 38 local boards of management, and others managed for the Ministry by experienced munitions firms. [4] The Woolwich arsenal, which in August, 1914, employed 10,866 persons, by June, 1917, had 73,571, about a third of whom were women. [5]

By the end of 1917, there were 143 national factories and 20,-

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1918, H.C. 24; *The New Statesman,* xi, 44 (April 20, 1918).
[2] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* v, ch. 93, p. 412.
[3] *Ibid.,* x, ch. 172, p. 321.
[4] Interview with C. Addison to the Associated Press.
[5] C. Addison: *British Workshops and the War,* p. 17.

000 private controlled establishments, with a total of more than 2,000,000 work people, of whom 644,000 were women. Including those employed on admiralty work, more than 2,700,000 were engaged in munitions works, of whom over 700,000 were women. [1]

The work of the Ministry has included much more than the provision of arms and ammunition. Every machine tool maker in the United Kingdom has been brought under its control. The supply of motor transport was transferred to the Ministry of Munitions in 1916, the supply of agricultural implements later in the same year, and the supply of aeroplanes and seaplanes for the army and navy early in 1917. [2]

In addition to the building construction in connection with the extension of former works and the erection of new plants, the Ministry has also taken an active part in securing housing accommodations for workers in the munitions factories. Existing accommodations have been taken over and adapted for munitions workers; temporary housing facilities have been constructed by the Ministry itself; and the government has made contributions to local authorities and others to provide permanent housing. [3] Whole villages have been built, accommodations for 60,000 people being provided in one year. [4]

The supply and distribution of labor has been an important part of the work of the Ministry. Many thousands of skilled workmen have been withdrawn from the army for munitions work. By cooperation with the trades unions, skilled workmen have been transferred to where they could be of most service, and skilled labor has been "diluted" with unskilled, and many of the latter have been trained for special work. The employment of women has also been developed to a large extent, so that in some lines from 60 to 80 per cent of the workers have been women. [5]

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for 1917*, pp. 69-70.
[2] C. Addison: *British Workshops and the War*, pp. 20, 21.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.
[4] Interview with C. Addison to the Associated Press.
[5] *Ibid.*

Regulation of industrial conditions through the munitions tribunals and settlement of labor disputes have also required a good deal of attention. Rules for constituting and regulating munitions tribunals were issued in July, 1915; and revised from time to time.[1] Up to July 1, 1916, these tribunals had acted on 5,354 prosecutions, 15,210 applications for leaving certificates, and 1,100 claims for compensation.[2] Forty-five labor advisory boards have assisted the disputes section of the Ministry; and the amount of time lost by suspensions of work was reduced in the first part of 1916 to less than a fourth of that in the same period of 1915; and a year later this had been further reduced to about a third of that in 1916.[3]

Much has also been done in the regulation of wages, hours of labor and conditions of employment, greatly extending the field of government control of industry.

General Estimate

When Mr. Lloyd George became Secretary of State for War, in June, 1916, his place as Minister of Munitions was taken by Edwin S. Montagu, who had been Financial Secretary to the Treasury and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. At the Cabinet and ministerial reorganization in December, 1916, Dr. Christopher Addison, who had been Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, and later Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions, was promoted to be Minister. In July, 1917, Dr. Addison became Minister of Reconstruction and Winston Churchill, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty before May, 1915, was appointed as Minister of Munitions.

The Ministers of Munitions have thus all been men active in political and parliamentary life; although the work of the Ministry would seem to be adapted to men of large business and administrative experience.

From the point of view of material results the new Ministry

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1916, pp. 321, 348, 350, 351.
[2] Return of Cases heard before Munitions Tribunals, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1914, Cd. 8143; 1916, Cd. 8360.
[3] C. Addison: *British Workshops and the War*, p. 39.

appears to have justified itself. When it was established, the task of organizing and developing the munitions industry was of such urgent importance that it required one of the strongest men in the government, and this made it necessary to place this department in the front rank. The magnitude of the business under its control continues to make the department one of the most important during the progress of the war.

But, as is clearly recognized in the act creating the Ministry, as a temporary agency to expire shortly after the termination of the war, a separate Ministry for the supply of munitions and war material does not seem to be advisable as a permanent feature of the administrative organization of the government. A similar department has been established in France; but no such action seems to have been considered necessary in Germany, although a similar process of increasing the government munitions works and controlling private works has been carried out without creating a new main department of government.

At the same time, it is not improbable that some features of the government control of industry developed in connection with the Ministry of Munitions will be continued in force; and, even with a large measure of disarmament after the war, there are likely to be measures provided for the more rapid organization and mobilization of the industrial resources of the country for military purposes, in the event of another war. Moreover the work of the British Ministry of Munitions suggests the question whether there may not be permanent advantages in a more unified control over the work of furnishing war materials for all branches of the combatant forces—army, navy and air service. To secure this would require closer cooperation between the Admiralty and the War Office, and would tend towards the development of a comprehensive department of military and naval affairs.

The Air Service

At the beginning of the war, the army and the navy had each a service of aircraft—the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal

Naval Air Service—and each had a separate administrative organization for the supply of airplanes and seaplanes. There was also a Joint Air Committee, under the Committee on Imperial Defense, composed of members from the War Office and the Admiralty, to secure cooperation.

With the development of aerial attacks on Great Britain, the need for a more definite division of labor and closer cooperation between the army and navy air services became more pressing. By the middle of February, 1916, a plan of division had been agreed to, under which the navy was responsible for defensive measures until hostile craft reached the British coast, and thereafter the army was responsible, under the control of Field Marshal Sir John French, commander in chief for home defense.[1] A new Air Committee was appointed, with Lord Derby as chairman; but like the former committee it had no power of action.

More satisfactory results were secured with an increased supply of anti-aircraft guns, more practice in night flying and improved methods of attack. But continued criticism led, in April, 1916, to the appointment of a committee of seven members to inquire into and report on the administration and command of the Royal Flying Corps. No investigation was made of the naval air service. The committee, after examining more than fifty witnesses, reported (August 3 and November 17) that the charges of criminal negligence were without foundation; and that the Flying Corps had made but few mistakes and those not of vital importance.

Meanwhile interdepartmental and interservice jealousy, and the lack of real power, led to the resignation from the Air Committee of Lord Derby, the chairman, and Lord Montagu, and the practical collapse of the committee.

In May, 1916, an Air Board was formed, with Lord Curzon as chairman, to succeed the Air Committee, with larger powers over questions of policy, but without executive functions. This board is said to have done good work within its limited powers; but to have suffered from the same defects as the Air Committee.

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, x, ch. 163, p. 345.

The refusal of the Admiralty to cooperate in any plan which would in any way deprive the Royal Navy of its independence led to incessant controversies. There was no proper coordination with the Ministry of Munitions, which was ultimately responsible for the materials and labor required. [1]

Under the New Ministries Act, of December, 1916, [2] the Air Board was reorganized on a statutory basis, with the president of the board (Lord Cowdray) ranking as a Minister. The act provided that there should be such a board "for the purpose of organizing and maintaining the supply of aircraft in the national interest in connection with the present war." The number of members and the precise powers of the board were to be determined by Order in Council. In the words of the act:

> The Air Board shall in relation to aircraft have such powers and duties of any government department or authority, whether conferred by statute or otherwise, as His Majesty may by Order in Council transfer to the board, or authorize the board to exercise or perform concurrently with or in consultation with the government department or authority concerned.

Provision was also made for the cessation of the board after the war.

Viscount Cowdray was appointed as Air Minister; and served in this capacity until the summer of 1917.

In January, 1917, the supply of aircraft was transferred to the Ministry of Munitions. In February, the officials of the Ministry of Munitions, the Admiralty and the War Office dealing with aeronautics were transferred to the Air Board offices. In April, a Civil Aerial Transport Committee was formed, with Lord Northcliffe as chairman, to consider the development of aviation after the war. An Aeronautics Advisory Committee was also formed.

A proposal by Lord Cowdray, in July, 1917, for a more comprehensive Air Ministry was approved by the War Cabinet, and referred to an Air Organization Committee, composed of General Smuts and representatives of the Admiralty, War Office, Treasury, and the Air Board. An Air Forces Bill was introduced

[1] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, p. 347.
[2] 6 and 7 Geo. V, ch. 68.

in Parliament and passed in November, providing for an Air Council with a new Secretary of State as president. Lord Rothermere, who had succeeded Lord Cowdray, was appointed to the new position. [1]

It should be noted, however, that the Air Ministry did not have complete jurisdiction over the entire air service. The task of home defense against air raids remained under the army; while airships continued under the control of the navy.

The establishment of the Air Board as a distinct ministry seems to have been clearly less defensible as an administrative measure than the Ministry of Munitions, and to have been mainly due to political factors. The supply of airships and equipment naturally came within the scope of the Ministry of Munitions; and a new administrative department for this purpose would have been directly in conflict with the general movement towards greater concentration of responsibility for the supply of war materials. At the same time aerial operations are and must be for the most part conducted in close cooperation with operations on land or sea, if not with both; and the field for independent aerial action is limited. Under these conditions a distinct Air Ministry, independent of both army and navy, increases the dangers of interdepartmental rivalries and conflicts.

On the other hand, there would seem to be possible advantages if the army and navy air services could be united into a single service, acting in close harmony with both the land and sea forces. This could be most effectively accomplished if the army and navy could both be brought together under a comprehensive ministry of war, in which the air service should be one of the main divisions.

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 56-63.

CHAPTER VII

Defense of the Realm

Perhaps of even more significance than the measures for the development of the combatant forces has been the far-reaching expansion of governmental authority in Great Britain for the maintenance of internal order, the suppression and prevention of acts at home which might interfere with the successful conduct of the war, and the regulation of business. Under the common law and statutes in force before the outbreak of war, a series of defensive measures was authorized and taken. But these were promptly followed by additional legislation conferring more and more extensive powers on the executive authorities; and these have been steadily amended and enlarged. Under these emergency acts there have been issued long series of regulations by Orders in Council, and orders by government departments and officials, establishing an intensive system of police control, affecting private property and personal liberty. To enforce these, new and summary methods of procedure have been devised, which limit or take away many of the former legal safeguards for the protection of individual rights.

Preliminary Measures

Mention may first be made of some preliminary measures taken, under the prewar legislation, before the formal declaration of war. On August 1, 1914, notice was given by the Postmaster General in pursuance of regulations of 1908, made under the Wireless Telegraphy Act, 1904, that an emergency had arisen which made it expedient for the government to control wireless telegraphy; and regulations were issued by the Admiralty prohibiting the use of wireless telegraphy by merchant ships within

the harbors or territorial waters of the United Kingdom and the Channel Islands. [1]

On August 2, an order of the Home Secretary, under the Aerial Navigation Acts, prohibited the navigation of aircraft over the United Kingdom. [2] On the same day, a Royal Proclamation postponed for one month the payment of certain bills of exchange; [3] and on the following day another Royal Proclamation, under the Bank Holidays Act, appointed August 4, 5 and 6 as Bank Holidays. [4] Another Royal Proclamation of August 3, under the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, prohibited the exportation of a specified list of warlike stores. [5]

Royal Proclamation of August 4, 1914

Much more sweeping was the Royal Proclamation of August 4 (the date of the declaration of war against Germany), authorizing the Admiralty, the Army Council or other officers to issue instructions and regulations for the public safety and the defense of the realm. [6] This proclamation is of special significance because, issued in the name of the King, as an act of the Royal prerogative, without the formal approval of the Privy Council or the authority of any Act of Parliament, it asserted the prerogative power to take all measures necessary for securing the public safety and defense of the realm; nor were any limitations laid down as to the instructions or regulations which might be issued under the proclamation.

Very little, if anything, of importance appears to have been done under this proclamation. Almost immediately Acts of Parliament were passed, in brief and comprehensive terms—though not so sweeping as in the proclamation of August 4; and other proclamations, regulations and orders soon followed, based on the authority of these statutes. The decision of the King's Bench

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* 1914, p. 402.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 47.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 238.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 99.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 160.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 145.

Division and the High Court of Appeal in the Zadig case, in 1916, confirmed by the House of Lords in 1917, upholding the Defense of the Realm Regulations, as authorized by the Defense of the Realm Acts of Parliament, indicates clearly that no such far-reaching powers would have been recognized as vested in the executive under the Royal prerogative.[1]

Acts of Parliament

On August 5, 1914, the day after the declaration of war, an Aliens Restriction Act became law, authorizing the King, by Order in Council, to make regulations restricting the landing, embarkation or residence of aliens in the United Kingdom, for the regulation of aliens, and for the regulation of their movements, and for other measures of police control. Provision was made for the appointment of officers to enforce such regulations and for the imposition of penalties.[2]

On August 7, 1914, an act on British nationality and the status of aliens became law, which consolidated the former law with some amendments, and repealed the Naturalization Act of 1870 and much earlier legislation from the time of Edward III. This measure, prepared before the war, and going into operation January 1, 1915, affected the steps which were taken to deal with persons of alien origin; and was criticized for excluding from British citizenship the children of British subjects born outside of British jurisdiction, and for including the children of aliens born in British dominions.[3]

Much wider powers were conferred by the Defense of the Realm Act of August 8. This was supplemented by another act of August 28; and was further amended and revised by the Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act of November 27. Further modifications were made by later acts in 1915 and 1916. This

[1] Rex v. Halliday. *Cf. Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique,* vol. 34, 433 (1917).
[2] 4 and 5 Geo. V, c. 12; *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* 1914, p. 6.
[3] 4 and 5 Geo. V, c. 17; *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* viii.

legislation authorized regulations by Order in Council, for securing the public safety and defense of the realm; and for the trial and punishment of offenders against such regulations, and in particular against provisions to prevent communications with the enemy; to secure the safety of troops and ships, the means of communication and railways, ports and harbors; to prevent the spread of false and dangerous rumors; to secure the navigation of vessels in accordance with Admiralty directions; or to prevent assistance being given to the enemy or danger to the successful prosecution of the war.[1]

The original Defense of the Realm Act authorized the trial of offenders against the regulations by court-martial; or in the case of minor offenses, by courts of summary jurisdiction. The consolidation act of November was even more drastic, authorizing the death penalty in the case of offenses "committed with the intention of assisting the enemy." Opposition was raised in the House of Lords (by ex-Chancellor Lord Halsbury, Lord Parmoor and Viscount Bryce) to thus authorizing, for the first time in more than two centuries, a civilian to be sentenced to death without trial by jury; but the revision was enacted as proposed.

A work on this emergency legislation, which appeared early in 1915, called attention to the far-reaching authority conferred on the executive.[2] Other doubts appear to have arisen as to the necessity for such arbitrary powers; and by an amending act of March 16, 1915, British civilian subjects were given the right to claim a trial by a civil court with a jury, unless for offenses tried before a court of summary jurisdiction. But it was provided that in case of invasion or other special military emergency, the right to trial by civil court and a jury might be suspended by proclamation, either generally, or as to any specified area.[3]

[1] 4 and 5 Geo. V, c. 29, 61, 62; 5 Geo. V, c. 8. *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* 1914, pp. 13, 20, 22; Supplement No. 2, p. 14.

[2] Baty and Morgan: *War, Its Conduct and Legal Results. Cf.* H. M. Bowman: "Martial Law in England" in *Michigan Law Review,* xv, 93 (December, 1916).

[3] 5 Geo. V, c. 34; *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 3, p. 238. The measures taken in Ireland on the uprising in Dublin were taken under the latter named proviso.

Restrictions on Aliens

Within an hour after the passage of the Aliens Restriction Act, the first Aliens Restriction Order in Council was issued. This was supplemented by several additional orders in August and by a new consolidation order on September 9, 1914.[1] Further amendments were made from time to time; and another general consolidation order was issued in 1916, which in turn was followed by additional modifications.

These orders imposed restrictions on aliens entering and leaving the United Kingdom, and on their residence and movements in the kingdom. Aliens could enter or leave only from a list of approved ports; and at these alien enemies were required to have permits. Aliens were forbidden to enter with firearms, ammunition, signaling apparatus, carrier pigeons, motor vehicles, aircraft or cipher codes, or with more than three gallons of petroleum or other inflammable liquid.

Under the first orders, all alien enemies in the kingdom were required to register with the police, and were forbidden to travel more than five miles from their registered address without a permit. Later all persons, whether aliens or not, coming to boarding houses, lodging houses, hotels and inns, were required to register, by filing certain forms with the landlord. The duty of registration with the police was also extended, at the request of the Belgian Government, to Belgian refugees.[2] Still later, all aliens were required to register with the police and to carry identity books.

From the first a number of "prohibited areas" were specified, in which no aliens could reside without registering with the police; while alien enemies could reside in such areas only by special permission of the local police. Alien enemies were forbidden to have in their possession firearms, ammunition, explosives, more than three gallons of petroleum, any signaling apparatus, motor vehicles, yachts, aircraft, telephones, cameras, mili-

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* 1914, pp. 48, 63, 65, 66, 68.
[2] Order of November 28, 1914. *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 2, p. 45.

tary or naval maps, cipher codes, etc. Restrictions were placed on the circulation among alien enemies of newspapers in enemy language, and also on carrying on any banking business by alien enemies. [1]

Provision was made for alien officers to carry out these orders, who were to be immigration officers under the Aliens Act of 1905, and other persons appointed by the Home Secretary.

On October 9, 1914, the Home Office issued a statement on the control of aliens and espionage. About 9,000 Germans and Austrians of military age had been arrested and held as prisoners of war in detention camps. [2]

The early regulations made no provisions for interning alien enemies as a class, nor for dealing with naturalized British citizens with enemy affiliations, unless in cases of special suspicion. In March the Home Secretary announced that the responsibility for the internment and release of aliens had rested, except for a few weeks, with Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War. But popular violence, following the sinking of the *Lusitania,* and other German war methods, led to a change of policy. On May 13, 1915, the Prime Minister announced that all adult male enemy aliens of military age would be interned; male aliens above military age would be deported; and women and children in suitable cases would be repatriated. By a regulation of June 10, naturalized citizens "of hostile origin" were made subject to restrictions or internment. An Aliens Advisory Committee was established in the Home Office, presided over by judges of the High Court, to consider appeals from persons against whom orders of restriction or internment were made. [3] There was also set up an Aliens Restriction Committee and a Civilian Internment Committee.

On June 10, the Home Secretary reported that large internment camps had been established on the Isle of Man; of 1,542 applications for exemption, 286 had been granted and 1,256 re-

[1] Order No. 2, August 10, 1914; Order No. 4, August 20, 1914.
[2] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* pp. 516-520.
[3] *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War,* v, ch. 90, pp. 297-298.

fused.[1] Exemptions were usually granted to men supporting British wives and families who established their claims to be harmless; and also to those who while technically alien enemies were of friendly nationalities—such as Bohemians, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Poles, Schleswig Danes, and Greeks, Armenians and Syrians from Turkey.[2]

Defense of the Realm Regulations

On August 12, 1914, the date of the passage of the first Defense of the Realm Act, a series of Defense of the Realm Regulations were issued by Order in Council. These comprised 31 paragraphs, grouped in three parts: general regulations; regulations specially designed to prevent persons communicating with the enemy and obtaining information for disloyal purposes, and to secure the safety and means of communications and of railways, docks and harbors; and supplemental. Additional Orders in Council were issued on September 1 and 17 and October 14, amending these regulations, under the larger powers of the second Defense of the Realm Act.[3]

On November 28, after the passage of the Defense of the Realm (Consolidation) Act, a new series of consolidated regulations were issued, which were afterwards amended and supplemented from time to time. The consolidated regulations comprised 63 paragraphs, aggregating nearly three times the length of the first series, and were classified under the following heads: general regulations; provisions respecting the collection and communication of information, etc.; provisions against injury to railways, military works, etc.; provisions as to arms and explosives; provisions as to navigation; miscellaneous offenses; powers of search, arrest, etc.; trial and punishment of offenses; supplemental.[4]

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 7, p. 134.
[2] *California Law Review*, v, 444 (September, 1917); Order of January 7, 1915; *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, Supplement, No. 3, p. 246.
[3] *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, 1914, pp. 146, 151, 154; Supplement, No. 2, p. 99.
[4] *Ibid.*, Supplement, No. 2, pp. 104-122.

In 1915 a Defense of the Realm Regulations Committee was established at the War Office, with representatives of all the government departments, to discuss details of proposed amendments to the regulations. [1]

From November, 1914, to May 31, 1917, there were issued 51 Orders in Council amending the Defense of the Realm Regulations, making extensive revocations and additions. By the latter date the code of regulations had increased from 63 to 206; and the consolidated regulations comprised 132 pages in the *Defense of the Realm Manual* issued at that time. [2] Further amendments and additions have continued to be made from time to time; and revised editions of the regulations have been issued each month.

The regulations begin with the following statement of general principles:

> The ordinary avocations and the enjoyment of property will be interfered with as little as may be permitted by the exigencies of the measures required to be taken for securing the public safety and the defense of the realm, and ordinary civil offenses will be dealt with by the civil tribunals in the ordinary courts of law.

At the same time the enormous scope of governmental control asserted by and exercised under these regulations may be indicated by the headings under which they are grouped, in the edition for October 31, 1917:

Occupation and control of land and buildings, control of food supplies, securities, war materials and means of production.
Control of motor spirit.
Clearance of areas.
Control of meetings, recreations, fairs and holidays.
Control of mines.
Control of canals.
Control of licensed premises, intoxicants, hours of business, and places of public entertainment.
Control of lights and sounds.

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 151.
[2] *Defense of the Realm Manual*, 4th edition, pp. iv, 29-160.

Control of movements of civil population.
Power to require information as to businesses and agriculture.
Preparation for destruction of public works.
By-laws.
Air raid precautions.
Unauthorized collection and communication of information and reports.
Control of entry and approach to places of national or military importance.
Munitions, metals and war material.
Power to make rules for explosives, factories and stores.
Bombs or articles from hostile aircraft.
Burial of enemies.
Power to make rules for naval, military or munitions area.
Navigation.
Intoxicants, drugs and malingering.
Unauthorized use of uniforms, badges, etc.
Duties of employers of males of 16 years or over.
Banking and exchange transactions.
Interference with military duties and with war supplies.
Falsification of reports, false representation, forgery and personation.
Certificates of exemption from military service.
Attestation of soldiers.
False passports, etc.
Assisting prisoners of war or interned persons.
General provisions as to offenses.
Powers of search, interrogation and arrest.
Special police and fire brigade areas.
Trial and punishment of offenses.
Saving of powers.
Notices and permits.
Definition of competent naval and military authorities, and interpretation of regulations.

General Orders

Under powers conferred by the Defense of the Realm Acts and Regulations hundreds of orders have been made by the various government departments and officials. Most numerous have been those issued by the Army Council, the Minister of Muni-

tions and the Board of Trade. But important orders of a general character have also been issued by the Admiralty, the Treasury, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, the Local Government Board, the Secretary for Scotland, the agricultural departments and the Food Controller. The general orders issued up to May 31, 1917, filled 425 pages in the 4th edition of the *Defense of the Realm Manual,* grouped in 37 classes.[1]

Some indication of the wide scope of powers exercised may be indicated by noting some of the principal topics on which orders have been issued by the several departments.

Admiralty orders have dealt mainly with navigation, including general warnings to mariners, departures from former collision regulations, rules as to ships' lights and mine protection gear, and the pilotage of vessels. One order required information from manufacturers and dealers in chronometers.

Army Council orders dealt largely with war materials—mainly agricultural and animal products, including forage, textiles, timber, hides and leather. One class of such orders provided for taking possession of such war materials; another class regulated or prohibited their manufacture or sale; a third class provided for the carrying on of work and the employment of workmen; and a fourth class required particulars of businesses of persons engaged in producing or dealing in such materials. Other orders of the Army Council requisitioned the output of certain factories and workshops; called for returns of agriculture; constituted special military areas; regulated dealings in arms, ammunition and military explosives; and regulated the supply of drugs for the army.

One class of army orders were those issued by the Quartermaster General of the forces, as a "competent military authority," requiring censuses of horses and mules, live stock and implements and wool.

Orders issued by the Minister of Munitions also dealt in large part with certain classes of war materials—mainly those of mineral and metallic character, such as aluminum, brass, copper,

[1] *Defense of the Realm Manual,* 4th edition, pp. 161-585.

cranes, lead, motor engines and vehicles, nickel, optical instruments and glassware, steel supplies, sulphuric acid, and also oils and fats. The manufacture or dealing in a long list of such supplies was regulated or prohibited; for a number of groups of such articles particulars of those engaged in the business were required; and orders were issued for taking possession of a few such articles.

Other orders made by the Minister of Munitions established rules for carrying on work and the engagement or employment of workmen covering restricted occupations, priority of work and directions as to particular businesses. Other classes of orders regulated and restricted building construction, provided for taking possession of road stone quarries, and declared unlawful the possession of certain metals.

Board of Trade orders dealt with the following classes of questions: railway traffic and fares; taking possession of coal mines, and of canals and barges thereon; the maintenance of supplies of potatoes and of paper and tobacco; directions as to the loading of ships; and the supply of information as to motor spirit.

Several classes of orders were made by agencies connected with the Board of Trade. Directions to port authorities were issued by the Port and Transit Executive Committee. The Port of London authority and the Mersey Docks and Harbor Board issued new schedules of rates, dues and charges. The Petrol Committee issued a notice authorizing the letting of motor cars for hire for special purposes.

The Treasury made a series of orders under the Defense of the Realm Regulations for taking possession of specified lists of securities, principally American stocks and bonds.

Orders were made by the Secretary of State for Home Affairs in regard to carrier pigeons, celluloid and cinematograph films, regulating the use of lights, whistling for cabs, the early closing of shops, restricting travel in the Orkney Islands and Zetland, and prescribing forms of records for dealing in cocaine and opium. The Local Government Board for England and Wales

made orders as to the powers of local authorities for the maintenance of food supplies.

Similar orders were made by the Secretary for Scotland concerning films, lighting regulations, the early closing of shops and the powers of local authorities.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland made orders prohibiting drilling.

Orders were issued by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries relating to the cultivation of lands, war agricultural executive committees and the drainage of lands; birds and rabbits; forms for agricultural returns required by the Army Council; and agricultural employment.

Similar orders were made by the Board of Agriculture for Scotland in reference to the cultivation of lands, rabbits, and forms for agricultural returns; and orders were also issued authorizing the killing of deer causing injury.

The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland made orders excepting certain holdings of land from cultivation; and also a series of local orders relating to fishing.

A numerous series of orders was made by the Food Controller for the maintenance of supplies of articles of food, dealing with beans, peas and pulse, bread and cereals, conditions on the sale of food, fish, hoarding of food, intoxicating liquor, meat, milk and cheese, public meals, sugar and tea. (*Cf.* Chapter X.)

Special Constables

By acts of August 10 and 28, 1914, Orders in Council were authorized providing for the appointment of special constables under the act of October 15, 1831, and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, in the absence of riots or other disorders. Orders in Council were issued on September 9, for Scotland on September 17, and for Ireland in March, 1915; and these were amended from time to time.[1]

[1] 4 and 5 Geo. V, c. 53, 61; 5 and 6 Geo. V, c. 47; *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, 1914, pp. 19, 20, 370, 373, 374; Supplement No. 3, pp. 515, 516; Supplement No. 4, pp. 9, 392, 393.

Special constables appointed by the local police authorities under these provisions rendered effective service in controlling traffic, enforcing lighting regulations and in connection with German raids on the East Coast.

Defense of the Realm Regulation 55 A, issued January 24, 1917, authorized a Secretary of State to establish special police areas, and to place the police in any such area under the control of a single authority. No order creating special police areas was made up to May 31, 1917.[1]

Control of Lights and Business Hours

Regulations for the control of lighting were first issued for London and the Metropolitan Police District on October 1, 1914; and revised orders for this area were issued on October 31, and December 9, with later amendments. From time to time special orders restricting the use of lights were issued for particular places on the east and south coasts; and on April 8, 1915, a series of general orders were made covering prohibited areas in the counties from Northumberland to Dorset, and coast points from Dorset to Cumberland and in Scotland.[2]

Zeppelin raids in the autumn of 1915 led to further regulations. A new order by the Home Secretary on September 29 imposed intensified restrictions for the metropolis; and still further restrictions were imposed by orders of March 10 and August 26, 1916. New general orders as to lighting outside of the metropolitan area were made on July 22 and October 9, 1916; and revised orders for Scotland were made on August 25 and October 25, 1916, with later modifications and additions.[3]

Defense of the Realm Regulation 10 B, adopted October 24, 1916, authorized orders restricting the hours in the evening in which any trade or business might be carried on. Orders for this purpose were issued for the winter of 1916-17; and new orders

[1] *Defense of the Realm Manual,* 4th ed., p. 146.
[2] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* 1914, p. 157; Supplement No. 3, pp. 341-347; Supplement No. 4, pp. 127-128, 139.
[3] *Defense of the Realm Manual,* 4th ed., pp. 477-498.

were issued in April, 1917, for the summer months, requiring the closing of shops, with certain exceptions, at 9 o'clock in the evening on Saturdays and at 8 o'clock on other days. [1]

By the Summer Time Act of 1916, the time for general purposes during the months from April to September was fixed at one hour in advance of Greenwich mean time; and by Order in Council this act was again put in force for 1917. [2]

Censorship

Before the war no definite machinery or rules for a system of censorship had been in existence; and in organizing an entirely new service for this purpose, difficulties of administration arose, and the earlier tentative measures were changed from time to time. There had been created a press committee, consisting of representatives of the principal newspapers and of the War Office and the Admiralty, in which the military and naval representatives gave indications as to the material the publication of which was not considered desirable. [3]

Early in August, 1914, a double system of censorship for the press was established, by the War Office and the Admiralty—one dealing with press cable dispatches, and the other with other press news. Press cable censors were appointed at each of the ten or a dozen offices from which press dispatches were sent abroad—a total of 80 or 90 censors, who served in relays so as to provide a continuous service day and night. This arrangement lacked unity of action, even among the cable censors; and unusual and irritating delays were caused by duplicate censoring of the same messages at several points. [4]

In addition to the cable censors, the War Office and the Admiralty also established a district press bureau " for the coordination and distribution of official news relating to military and naval affairs and matters concerning the progress of the war

[1] *Defense of the Realm Manual,* 4th ed., pp. 76, 473-475.
[2] 6 and 7 Geo. V, c. 14, 45; *Defense of the Realm Manual,* 4th ed., p. 481.
[3] F. E. Smith in *Parliamentary Debates,* vol. 66, p. 477; *Revue du Droit Public,* etc., vol. 32, p. 254.
[4] *Revue du Droit Public,* etc., vol. 32, p. 616.

which could advisedly be made public." This bureau was placed under the supervision of a civilian director (Right Honorable F. E. Smith, M.P.), who had access for consultative purposes to the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, and in matters of doubt to the Prime Minister. The staff of the bureau consisted of military and naval officers; and requests that professional journalists be added were denied. There were also several civilian secretaries and a number of army and navy officers attached to this bureau, which gave out official statements from the military departments and passed on non-official information submitted by the newspapers.

The two groups of censors led to much inconvenience, and inconsistent and conflicting decisions. At the end of August it was announced that a central office for press cables would be established under the press bureau, and a double register of decisions would be kept. When transferred, the press cable censors brought with them instructions in considerable detail, issued by the chief cable censor at the War Office. On September 9, the Home Secretary announced that he had accepted responsibility for the work of the press bureau. The same director remained in charge until his departure in October for military service, when his place was taken by another civilian, the Solicitor General Sir Stanley Buckmaster.[1]

On October 26, 1914, a memorandum of instructions was issued to all censors in the press bureau; and from time to time instructions to the press were issued. An explanation of the work of the bureau and the general policy was made by the director in the House of Commons on November 26.

In a memorandum on the official press bureau, issued early in 1915, the staff of the bureau was announced as consisting of the director, two assistant directors, a secretary and about 50 censors. The latter included naval officers appointed by the Admiralty, military censors appointed by the War Office (from senior officers attached to the General Staff), and civilian cen-

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, i, 182-183; *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 66, pp. 454-511; vol. 68, pp. 121-137.

sors appointed by the director, including former civil servants, barristers and journalists. In October, 1915, there were 122 persons employed by the press bureau. There were also 150 cable censors, under the chief cable censor, as well as 700 postal censors.

All press cable messages to, from or through London, were diverted to the bureau. Submission of other press matter was optional; but those who published without submission did so at their own risk. Most of the newspaper press submitted a large amount of matter relating to naval and military matters, questions of foreign policy, etc. The voluntary feature was said to account for many complaints. Some journals would print reports without submission, which other journals had submitted and had had rejected.

Reports on the war issued by any government department for publication were sent to the press bureau, and from there distributed to the press. [1]

Numerous criticisms of the press censorship appeared from time to time. Objection was made to the lack of uniformity of treatment; and to the failure to give out information of interest and value though of no military benefit to the enemy. The press bureau was said to be only a conduit to transmit what had been sanctioned by the War Office and General Headquarters; and special complaint was made of the absence of information as to the service of particular units, even after operations in which the units engaged must have been known to the enemy. It was urged that the censor should be entrusted with positive as well as negative functions; and should be required to furnish newspapers with material for articles on all matters the publication of which would assist the cause of the Allies. [2]

Further restrictions on the press were imposed by Orders in Council of February 29 and April 22, 1916. The former made it an offense for any person without authority to have in his possession any document containing a report or statement pub-

[1] Memorandum on the Official Press Bureau: *Parliamentary Papers,* 1915, Cd. 7680.

[2] *Quarterly Review,* vol. 225, pp. 156, 163 (January, 1916).

lication of which was prohibited. The latter of these orders prohibited the publication of the proceedings of any Cabinet meeting or of any secret session of either House of Parliament. The latter order met with vigorous criticism in the press, in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons. [1]

Occasionally the circulation of certain journals has been suppressed. This was done with the *Globe,* a Tory journal in November, 1915, and also with *Forward,* a Glasgow Socialist newspaper, in January, 1916. [2] A prohibition was placed on sending the *Labour Leader* out of the country; and later, for a time, the foreign circulation of the weekly *Nation* (Liberal) was prohibited. The latter action was said to have been taken by the Intelligence Department of the War Office, without consulting the government nor the propaganda department of the Foreign Office; though it was afterwards announced that the action was approved by the Home Office and the propaganda department of the Foreign Office.

In addition to the press censorship, a censorship of foreign mails was also in operation early in 1915. This was based on a provision of the Post Office Consolidation Act of 1908, empowering a Secretary of State to authorize the opening or detaining of postal packets. [3] The Postal Censorship was under the control of the War Office, acting in cooperation with the Post Office, and under the authority of the Home Secretary. [4]

With the development of the blockade and the extension of the doctrine of continuous voyage to restrict trade in neutral ships held to be from or destined to enemy countries, a systematic censorship and examination of mails carried on neutral ships was inaugurated. Neutral ships were required to enter British ports for the examination of their cargoes for contraband; and the mails were examined either at the port or at London.

This practice was objected to by neutral countries, and notably by the United States. It was defended as a necessary measure

[1] *Revue du Droit Public,* etc., vol. 33, p. 337.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 13.
[3] Section 56; *Parliamentary Debates,* vol. 69, p. 266.
[4] Report of the Postmaster General, 1914-15.

for the enforcement of the blockade and the detection of contraband. Parcel post was stated to be in the same class as other merchandise; while contraband articles were frequently found in letter mail. The seizure of securities and remittances to or from enemy countries was considered as justifiable prize; and it was urged that information obtained from examining the mails was of value in detecting plots for evading the blockade and transmitting supplies to the enemy. The prohibition on enemy publications was said to be necessary to prevent the circulation of propaganda and seditious and inflammatory publications. Delays caused by the examination of the mails were said to have been reduced to a minimum. [1]

Control of Liquor Traffic

From early in the war the sale of intoxicating liquors was subjected to special restrictions, which have been extended from time to time; and from June, 1915, the regulation of this traffic was placed under a newly created central board of control. Later in connection with the regulation of food supplies, restrictions have been placed on the manufacture of liquors, as a means of conserving food supplies.

Under the first series of Defense of the Realm Regulations (of August 12, 1914), any competent military or naval authority could by order require all premises for the sale of intoxicating liquor within or in the neighborhood of any defended harbor to be closed except during such hours as might be specified in the order; and prohibit giving intoxicating liquor to members of His Majesty's forces, with the intent of eliciting information, or to any such member employed in the defense of any railway, dock or harbor, or when on sentry or other duty. By the regulations issued in September, these restrictions were made applicable to any proclaimed area. [2]

[1] Pamphlets on "The Mails as a German War Weapon," and "Why Mail Censorship is Vital by Great Britain." T. W. Koch in *Library Journal*, 42: 697 (1917).

[2] Regulations 7 and 17; *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, 1914, pp. 147, 149, 411, 414.

On August 31, 1914, an Intoxicating Liquors (Temporary Restrictions) Act became law, which authorized the justices for any licensing district, on the recommendation of the chief officer of police, to direct that the sale or consumption of intoxicating liquor in licensed premises or registered clubs be suspended during such hours and under conditions and exceptions specified in the order—with the proviso that any order to suspend before nine o'clock at night should be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.[1]

The need for further restrictions on the sale and use of liquor became more evident in the spring of 1915, and proposals for government purchase and management of the traffic were made. A committee of nine members, with Herbert Samuel as chairman, was appointed to advise the government on the financial arrangements needed if the state should purchase the breweries, control the liquor trade and prohibit the retail trade in spirits. This committee made a report in April, 1915, that the estimates furnished indicated a total outlay of approximately £250,000,000 to carry out this policy.[2] No action seems to have been taken on this plan, probably in view of the new policy of regulation adopted.

By the Defense of the Realm (Amendment) (No. 3) Act of May 19, 1915, power was given, by Orders in Council, to define areas for the control of the sale and supply of intoxicating liquor, and to issue regulations, giving the prescribed government authority power:

(a) of selling, supplying or controlling the sale or supply of intoxicating liquor in any prescribed area;

(b) of acquiring, compulsorily or by agreement, either for the period of the regulations or permanently, any licensed premises or business in such area;

(c) to establish and maintain refreshment rooms;

(d) to make modifications or adjustments in the relations between persons interested in licensed premises; and

[1] 4 and 5 Geo. V, c. 77; *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, 1914, p. 33.
[2] Report of the Advisory Committee on Proposals for the State Purchase of the Licensed Liquor Trade, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1916, Cd. 8283.

(e) to give effect to the transfer of the control of the liquor traffic in such area and to modify the provisions of acts relating to the licensing or sale of intoxicating liquor.[1]

By Order in Council of June 10, a series of liquor control regulations was established, which provided for a Central Control Board, consisting of a chairman and other members, to be appointed by the Minister of Munitions, with authority to appoint a secretary and other officers, inspectors and servants. This board was given enumerated powers of control over the sale of liquor and licensed premises; and any contravention of the board's orders was constituted a summary offense against the Defense of the Realm Regulations.[2]

Further Orders in Council were issued from time to time applying the regulations to certain areas. An order of July 6 defined ten restricted areas in England, and an order of July 28 defined two such areas in Scotland. Additional areas and modifications of areas were later issued; and by February 15, 1916, there were 27 areas scheduled. By May, 1916, the restricted areas in England and Scotland had a total population of 30,000,000. From March 31, 1916, to February 23, 1917, 15 additional orders were made, making a total of 42 such orders. The later orders provided for the extension of areas; and a considerable number of the districts first named were absorbed in larger areas, and earlier orders were revoked. In February, 1917, there were a total of 28 restricted areas, covering much the larger part of Great Britain, with a population of 38,000,000 out of a total estimated population of 41,000,000. No restricted areas had been established in Ireland.[3]

The main restrictions imposed under the orders of the Central Control Board have been the limitation on the hours of sale—from 16-20 hours to 4½-5½ hours a day. Sales of intoxicating liquor for consumption on the premises in the restricted areas

[1] 5 and 6 Geo. V, ch. 42; *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 4, p. 3.
[2] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 4, pp. 167-175.
[3] Third Report of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), April 30, 1917; *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8558.

have usually been limited on weekdays to two and a half hours in the middle of the day and to three (sometimes two) hours in the evening—during the time of the principal meals. Sales have been prohibited before the midday period, during the afternoon, and after nine or half past nine in the evenings. On Sundays, in areas where any sale has been permitted, the hours have been slightly shorter than on weekdays. Treating and sales of intoxicants on credit (except for meals) have been absolutely prohibited. The same restrictions have been placed on clubs as on licensed premises. Sales for consumption off the premises have also been closely restricted.

Other restrictions imposed have required the dilution of spirits in increased amounts, and limited the issue of new licenses; and in some areas have provided for the sale of light beers (with not over two per cent of alcohol), required the closing of licensed premises (other than hotels, etc.) during prohibited hours, prohibited the sale of spirits (in the north of Scotland), required Sunday closing and provided for supervision of licensed premises.

The establishment of industrial canteens has been promoted by the Central Control Board. These have been provided in some cases by employers, in others by voluntary agencies, and in default of these by the board. On March 31, 1917, there were 150 canteens in national factories and 420 in controlled establishments, a total of 570 in establishments with 800,000 employes, out of a grand total of 1,890,000 in the national factories and controlled establishments. In December there were 720 canteens in operation or approaching completion. In addition there were about 60 canteens for transport workers at the principal docks. Such canteens have been financially assisted by allowances from the profits of controlled establishments and by grants in aid to voluntary agencies. The canteens established by the board have not supplied intoxicants, except a few registered as clubs.[1]

In several districts the Central Board has taken over the direct control of the retail liquor traffic—as at Carlisle, Gretna, Annan, Invergordon and Enfield. At Carlisle, under this arrangement,

[1] Third Report of the Central Control Board, p. 11.

42 out of 118 licenses in the city were suppressed, and 30 out of 82 in the county district. Under the system of direct control, enforcement of restrictions has been more effective and there has been a greater reduction of excessive drinking.

Administration of the board's restrictive orders rests mainly with the local police. The board has held numerous local conferences with chief constables, and received reports from its officers appointed to confer with the chief constables and to investigate special local problems. Delegations of the Central Board have conferred with military, naval and civil authorities at important centers; and also with representatives of employers, labor organizations and the licensed trades.[1] A remarkable absence of friction has been reported in carrying out the restrictive regulations. But supervision has been said to be easier and excessive drinking less in the better and more comfortable premises and in those furnishing food and recreation.

Statistics published in the reports of the Central Control Board indicate a considerable improvement in conditions under the operations of the restrictive regulations. The amount of spirits charged with inland revenue duty for home consumption for 1916-17 was 25 per cent less than for 1913-14, and 30 per cent less than for 1915-16. Consumption of beer was reduced from 32,000,000 to 26,000,000 barrels in 1916—more than 20 per cent below that for 1913-14. In February, 1917, the maximum output of beer for 1917-18 was fixed at only 10,000,000 barrels; but discontent and protests led to an increase being authorized for the summer months, to a total output of 14,000,000 barrels. The manufacture of spirits for human consumption was stopped in 1917; and the withdrawals cut down to one-half that for 1916.[2] Convictions for drunkenness have been reduced to one-fourth. There has also been a noticeable decrease in deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver, and a relatively larger decrease in other deaths reported as due to or connected with alcoholism.

[1] Third Report of the Central Control Board, p. 4.
[2] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917.*

STATISTICS SHOWING RESULTS OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC REGULATIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN [1]

Beer and Spirits Charged with Duty for Home Consumption in United Kingdom

Financial Year	Beer Standard Bbls.	Spirits Proof Gallons
1913-14	33,372,000	32,596,000
1914-15	32,525,000	34,345,000
1915-16	29,626,000	35,597,000
1916-17 (prov.)	25,905,000	23,998,000

Weekly Average Convictions for Drunkenness

	London	E. & W. Areas	Areas in Scotland	Total Areas in Great Britain
Four weeks before issue of Orders	1,011	2,471	1,485	3,956
For 1916	568	1,487	947	2,434
Four weeks ending Jan. 28, 1917.	568	1,314	813	2,127
" " " Feb. 25, 1917.	476	1,193	752	1,945
" " " Mch. 25, 1917.	428	1,075	680	1,755
" " " Dec., 1917.		855	507	

Convictions for Drunkenness

	London	36 Boroughs over 100,000
1913....	65,488	52,779
1914....	67,654	49,835
1915....	51,836	37,000
1916....	29,453	23,330

Liverpool

	Convictions for Drunkenness	Cases of Delirium Tremens	Deaths from Excessive Drinking
1913-14....	13,201	511	126
1914-15....	11,128	421	108
1915-16....	6,277	205	49

In Glasgow convictions for drunkenness have been reduced from a weekly average of 522 in the first six months of 1915 to 213 for the four weeks ending March 25, 1917.

Deaths Certified as Due to or Connected with Alcoholism in England and Wales, 1913-16

Year	Excluding Cirrhosis of Liver Male	Female	Total	Cirrhosis of Liver Male	Female	Total
1913	1,112	719	1,831	2,215	1,665	3,880
1914	1,136	680	1,816	2,266	1,773	4,039
1915	867	584	1,451	2,107	1,525	3,632
1916	620	333	953	1,823	1,163	2,986

At the same time it can not be claimed that liquor drinking or the evils connected with excessive drinking have been eliminated or reduced to matters of little importance. Complaints have been made, not only of continued drunkenness and serious social

[1] Liquor Control Board Third Report (1917), pp. 17, 19.

results therefrom, but also of direct interference with the success of the war by the loss of time in munitions and other factories, and by the use of cereals needed for food supplies. And it has been urged that the situation demands the complete suppression of the liquor traffic for the period of the war. [1]

On July 11, 1917, there was published a memorandum by the Central Control Board in favor of government purchase of the liquor trade, which had been in the hands of the government for six months. This memorandum stated that the limits of effective action along the lines in use had been almost reached, and that "the successful prosecution of the war was still being hampered by excessive consumption of intoxicating liquors." The results of the experiments in direct control at Carlisle and elsewhere, led the board to think that it "offered the most rapidly effective and the best permanent solution of the problem." On financial grounds the plan of outright purchase was preferred to any scheme for assuming control merely for the period of the war. [2]

Committees, for England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, on the financial aspects of direct purchase and control reported in the spring of 1918.

Home Office Committees

The official press bureau, established early in August, 1914, by the War Office and the Admiralty, was announced in September as having been placed under the supervision of the Home Secretary. Mr. F. E. Smith, the civilian director, continued in this position until October, when this place was taken by another civilian, the Solicitor General.

A committee on Retail Trade and Enlistment was set up in the Home Office by the first part of 1915.

On February 23, 1915, a committee was organized "to inquire into the coal mining industry with a view to promoting such or-

[1] See *The Independent*, March 2, 1918.
[2] *The Times History of the War*, xi, ch. 192, p. 434.

ganization of work and such cooperation between employers and workmen as, having regard to the large number of miners who are enlisting for naval and military service, will secure the necessary production of coal during the war." Three reports were published by this committee.

A scheme of colliery recruiting courts was established by the Home Secretary, with a Central Court, as an advisory body, consisting of the Chief Inspector of Mines, the Coal Mining Organization Committee and a representative of the War Office. [1]

On the adoption of a more restrictive policy in dealing with aliens, in May, 1915, an Aliens Advisory Committee was provided, to deal with the appeals of persons against whom orders of restriction or internment may be made under the Defense of the Realm Regulations. This committee included two justices of the High Court, with other members.

There were also organized an Aliens (Destitute) Committee, an Aliens Restriction Committee, an Aliens Restriction Regulations Committee, and an Enemy Aliens (Internment and Repatriation) Advisory Committee. A Civilian Internment Committee was provided to deal with civilian internment camps and the employment of aliens. [2]

On October 16, 1915, a committee was established at the Home Office to consider the conditions of clerical and commercial employment, with a view to advising what steps should be taken, by the employment of women or otherwise, to replace men taken for the army. [3]

A War Charities Committee was appointed by the Home Secretary, on April 12, 1916; and following the report of this committee the Charities Registration Act was passed. [4]

On March 28, 1916, a Committee on Conscientious Objectors was established, to which a tribunal might refer for advice as to what service of national importance an applicant for exemption

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 150.
[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 148-150.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 150; *Parliamentary Papers,* 1915, Cd. 8110.
[4] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 162; *The Political Quarterly,* No. 8 (1916), p. 164.

from military service on the ground of conscientious objection should undertake.

A Summer Time Committee was established at the Home Office, on September 29, 1916, to inquire into the social and economic results of the Summer Time Act, 1916, and to consider (1) whether it was advisable that summer time be reintroduced in 1917, and in subsequent years; and, if so, (2) whether any modifications in the arrangements were required. This committee consisted of ten members (one woman), with Mr. J. W. Wilson, M.P., chairman, and two secretaries. [1]

Other Home Office committees include the following: Cocaine and Opium Permits Committee, Fire Brigade Coordination Committee, Juvenile Organizations Committee, Passenger Traffic with Holland.

The Home Office was also represented on the Defense of the Realm Regulations Amendment Committee, the Women's War Employment Advisory Committee, the Prisoners of War and other interdepartmental committees.

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 161.

CHAPTER VIII

War Relief, Pensions and Prisoners

A host of committees and other agencies have been organized for dealing with various social problems arising out of the war, which are interrelated at various points in their objects and to some extent in their operations. These numerous agencies have, moreover, been under the supervision of several ministries. Pensions and other allowances to those in military and naval service were administered under the War Office and the Admiralty, until the creation of the Ministry of Pensions. War charities and other relief agencies were connected with the Local Government Board and the Home Office; and many of these agencies also dealt with phases of the employment problem.

In addition to the government and local official committees, much was done by a great number of private voluntary organizations—both those of old standing and many new societies organized for the present war problems. One list of such organizations included 147 societies;[1] and this was by no means complete.

War Charities

The organization of charitable relief agencies was looked after to a considerable extent by the Local Government Board. In some respects the war reduced the normal work of this department, but the relief activities more than counterbalanced this, and emergency services were improvised in connection with these functions.

On August 4, 1914, a Central Government Committee on the Prevention and Relief of Distress was appointed by the Prime Minister, with the president of the Local Government Board

[1] Helen Donald Smith: *War Distress and War Help.* A short catalogue of the leading War Help Societies. Murray, 1915.

(Herbert Samuel) as chairman, "to advise on measures necessary to deal with distress arising in consequence of the war, and to initiate, advise and coordinate action taken with a view to the prevention and relief of such distress." This committee consisted of ten members, including six members of the House of Commons and one woman. A special department was formed at the Local Government Board to act under this committee.

In connection with this central committee, a series of subcommittees was also established: on London (in August), Women's Employment (August 20), Professional Classes (October 21), Urban Housing, Agricultural Districts, Intelligence Advisory Committee, and London Intelligence Committee. The four last named subcommittees appear to have been discontinued.

Circulars were issued by the Local Government Board to local authorities calling attention to their powers to aid in relief work, and inviting them to form local committees (in every county, borough and urban district of over 20,000 population), to include representatives of the municipal authorities, boards of poor law guardians, trades unions and philanthropic organizations—in particular the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Associations.[1] Memoranda were issued to the local committees; and, in the first week of September, the central committee announced the employment of inspectors, selected from the Local Government Board, the Board of Education and the National Health Insurance Commission, to act as intermediaries with the local committee. A newly formed Intelligence Department of the Local Government Board was strengthened and expanded, and acted as a central bureau of information on the state of trade and industrial conditions in the different districts.

The problem of unemployment among men did not prove serious. The raising of the new armies and the demands for supplies of all kinds for the government soon offset the dislocation of trade. But for a time there was acute distress among women, especially those employed in the luxury trades, and those

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, i, 189 (1915); *Parliamentary Papers*, 1914, Cd. 7603, 7763.

in clerical service thrown out of work by the closing of the Stock Exchange.[1] The extent of these conditions is indicated by the formation of Women's Employment committees—the central committee in August, one for Ulster in October, and a central Irish committee for the other provinces in November.[2]

The Central Committee on Women's Employment marked a new departure in the constitution of government committees. It consisted of fourteen women, with Lady Crewe as chairman, "to consider and from time to time report upon schemes for the provision of work for women and girls unemployed on account of the war." It acted in close connection with the Central Government Committee on the Prevention and Relief of Distress—aiming both at securing immediate relief and also at regular employment under economic conditions.[3] Gradually the situation was improved, partly by relief agencies, but mostly by the increasing employment of women in connection with the production of army supplies for the government.

One of the important factors in the relief of distress was the National Relief Fund, which was opened on August 6, 1914, and by November, 1915, amounted to £5,615,905. This was administered by an executive committee appointed by the Prince of Wales. The Queen's Work for Women Fund was a useful auxiliary. In the relief of the civilian population, the National Relief Fund Committee acted only on the recommendation of the Central Government Committee. In assisting unemployed women, the Central Committee on Women's Employment devised schemes for women's work, which were approved by the Central Government Committee; and the National Fund Committee financed them out of money collected through the Queen's Fund.[4]

A large proportion of the National Relief Fund was paid out for the allowances due by the government to soldiers' and sailors' dependents. The enormous increase in the number of such al-

[1] *Quarterly Review*, vol. 225, p. 112 (1916).
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *The Political Quarterly*, i, 189; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Cd. 7756.

lowances had overwhelmed the pay office of the army; and the National Relief Fund was used to meet the emergency.[1]

The pressure on these funds raised by private subscription was, after a time, relieved by the better organization and the increase of the government allowances to the families of men in active service, and by government grants to local authorities for works to furnish employment.

The report on the administration of the National Relief Fund for the six months ended September 30, 1917, showed receipts of £6,240,000, and expenditures of £2,855,000 on naval and military distress, £602,000 on civil distress, and £4,000 on administration.

Something, but very little, was done by the subcommittee on professional classes, by grants to various organizations; but the most effective work for these classes (such as artists, who suffered perhaps more than any other class) was by private organizations, notably the Professional Classes War Relief Fund Council, of which Major Leonard Darwin has been the chairman, and the Professional Women's Patriotic Service Fund.

Among the other voluntary organizations special mention may be made of the Young Men's Christian Association, especially in providing canteens in the training camps and munitions areas.

Belgian Refugees

An important branch of relief work, for which special agencies were organized, was that of looking after refugees from Belgium, and later those from other countries. At first this problem was dealt with by a voluntary War Refugees Committee; but later the Local Government Board took over the reception of refugees and arranged for their registration and temporary accommodation. Arrangements were made for a regular series of passenger boats from Antwerp and later from Ostend; and agents of the Local Government Board were stationed at Ostend and Folkestone. A large number of buildings were used for temporary

[1] *Quarterly Review,* vol. 225, p. 117.

accommodations; and as the numbers of refugees increased, the local authorities, in London and elsewhere, were invited to assist and to form local committees. The Registrar General compiled a central register of refugees. [1]

In October a Belgian Refugees Committee for Ireland was formed, for organizing hospitality and collecting funds for their maintenance. [2] In the same month a departmental committee was appointed by the president of the Local Government Board, consisting of sixteen members, with Sir Ernest Hatch as chairman, to consider and report on questions arising in connection with the reception and employment of the Belgian refugees. The Belgian Government also appointed an official committee to look after the interests of refugees, which acted as a consultative body.

The departmental committee held a series of meetings from November 2 to December 7, hearing 72 witnesses, including government officials, employers, and representatives of labor unions and of local and central relief committees. The report of this committee, issued at the end of December, showed that about a million refugees had left Belgium, about half of whom had gone to Holland, and about 100,000 had come to England up to that time, with more to come. [3]

In accordance with the report of this committee a Belgian Refugees Commission was established in January, 1915, consisting of eight members, with Sir Ernest Hatch as chairman, to put into execution the recommendations of the committee for providing occupations for Belgian refugees. This commission continued its work until July, 1915. [4]

Later a Belgian Repatriation Committee was appointed, the secretary of which was Mr. H. A. Leggett, who had served in the same capacity for the Belgian Refugees Commission.

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, i, 194; No. 5, p. 164.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 149.
[3] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915; Cd. 7750, 7779.
[4] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 149.

Local Authorities

Available accommodations in local institutions for the poor were used in a variety of ways: by the military authorities for billeting troops and for the treatment of wounded soldiers; for temporary relief of Belgian refugees; for housing alien enemies and the wives and families of interned aliens. Repayment was made by the Exchequer to the local boards of poor law guardians for part or the whole of the increased expense due to these services.

The public health division of the Local Government Board, in consultation with the War Office, organized numerous measures for securing cooperation between the local civil and military authorities in regard to sanitary matters, such as the selection of camp sites, water supply, drainage, hospital facilities for infectious diseases and food inspection. The board's government lymph establishment supplied the army and navy with a half million tubes of vaccine lymph up to December, 1914. Medical inspectors assisted in the medical examination of refugees at Folkestone.

Distribution of food supplies from the colonies for the relief of distress, the supply of coal in London, and clothing, toys and food for children, sent from the United States by the Christmas ship *Jason*, was also looked after by the Local Government Board. There was not much need for relief of British citizens; but some of these supplies were used for Belgian refugees, and a good deal was offered to the War Office and the Commission for Relief in Belgium.[1]

At the outbreak of the war, the local authorities were asked to provide employment. Later they were asked to dispense with labor and restrict their activities. The restrictions on new capital issues applied to the local authorities, and caused the suspension of improvement works. At the same time there was a serious financial strain on the local authorities, on account of al-

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 5, pp. 170-172; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1914, Cd. 7763.

lowances paid to employes in military service and to their dependents, increased wages and the rise in the prices of materials, and the service of untrained substitutes for those with experience.[1]

As the war continued the use of local public buildings for purposes connected with the war increased. School buildings were occupied by the military authorities for troops and hospitals. The employment of children of school age was extended.

The Local Government (Emergency Provisions) Act of 1916 regularized the action of local authorities in regard to leaves of absence, payment of part salaries and allowances to dependents, the inclusion of service with the colors on pension schemes for officials and employes serving in the army and navy. This act also legalized the use of local government buildings for military purposes, and continued the provisions of the act of 1915 for postponing local elections.[2]

War Losses[3]

Several committees have been appointed to deal with the relief of those who have suffered direct losses as the result of hostile operations and measures for the defense of the realm.

The East Coast Raid Committee was established in January, 1915, to investigate the damage to persons and property sustained in the bombardment of the Hartlepools, Scarborough and Whitby, with a view to affording relief from imperial funds to the persons affected.

In April, 1915, a committee was appointed,

> to consider any cases of hardship that may be brought before them on behalf of masters, officers and seamen, including pilots and apprentices, of British merchant and fishing vessels, who have lost personal effects through hostile operations at sea, without being in a position to recover compensation or to obtain adequate relief in respect to such losses from other sources, and to grant such sums as they may think just in such cases.

On March 31, a Royal Commission on Defense of the Realm Losses was appointed,

[1] *The Political Quarterly,* No. 6, pp. 179-188.
[2] *Ibid.,* No. 8 (1916), pp. 161-162.
[3] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, pp. 143-144, 151, 152, 155, 160, 161.

to inquire into and determine, and to report what sums (in cases not otherwise provided for) ought in reason and fairness to be paid out of public funds to applicants who (not being subjects of an enemy state) are resident or carrying on business in the United Kingdom, in respect of direct and substantial loss incurred and damage sustained by them by reason of interference with their property or business in the United Kingdom, through the exercise by the Crown of its rights and duties in the defense of the realm.

The commissioners appointed were: Mr. H. E. Duke, chairman, Sir J. T. Woodhouse, and Sir M. G. Wallace. In 1917 Sir J. T. Woodhouse was chairman, with Sir M. G. Wallace and Mr. E. Shortt, M.P., as members. [1]

The first report of this commission was made under date of September 19, 1916. The commissioners had held 130 sittings in London, 12 in Edinburgh and 1 in Dublin; and up to the end of August had dealt with 1,094 applications. On claims for £652,779, lump sum payments had been awarded amounting to £276,965; and on claims for £355,694 a year, payments at the rate of £191,857 a year had been awarded. Cases of loss arising from the enforcement of any rule of general application had been ruled out. Where agricultural land had been taken, the commissioners had ruled against claims based on estimates of future crops, and assessed losses on the basis of crops in being and the occupation value of the land. The commissioners suggested the expediency of acquiring the entire interest in lands where buildings or works of a more or less permanent character have been constructed.

In August, 1915, another Royal Commission was organized on Compensation for War Disturbances,

to report what sums (in cases not otherwise provided for) ought in reason and fairness to be paid out of public funds to applicants who (not being subjects of an enemy state) are resident or carrying on business in the United Kingdom, in respect of direct and substantial loss incurred by them by reason of interference with their property or business in the United Kingdom through the exercise by the prescribed government authority of its powers under the Defense of the Realm (Amendment) (No. 3) Act, 1915—the Liquor Control Act.

[1] Second Report Defense of the Realm Losses Commission, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, Cd. 8751.

Committees were also appointed on Victims of the Irish Rebellion and on Property Losses in Ireland.

Home Office Committees

In addition to the committees previously noted, in some of which the Home Office was represented, several other committees were organized more definitely connected with this department of the government for problems of relief and employment.

On October 16, 1915, a committee was established at the Home Office to consider the conditions of clerical and commercial employment, with a view to advising what steps should be taken, by the employment of women or otherwise, to replace men taken for the army. This committee consisted of thirteen members (two of whom were women) and a secretary. Its first report was made under date of November 9, 1915.[1]

On March 2, 1916, another committee was formed, to advise the Board of Trade and the Home Office on questions arising out of the measures taken by the departments to give practical effect to the policy of the government of extending the employment of women in industrial occupations, and to watch and report on the progress made in the extension of the employment of women. This committee also consisted of thirteen members, including two women. Mr. C. Harmsworth, M.P., the chairman, and one other member had been members of the previous Clerical and Commercial Employments Committee; and Mr. M. H. Whittelegge, who had been secretary of the earlier committee, was one of the two secretaries of this committee.[2]

A War Charities Committee was appointed by the Home Secretary on April 12, 1916, "to consider representations which have been made in respect to the promotion and management of charitable funds for objects connected with the war, and to advise whether any measures should be taken to secure the better control or supervision of such funds in the public interest."

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 150; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Cd. 8110.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 164.

This committee consisted of eight members (including one woman), with Mr. J. W. Wilson, M.P., as chairman. It recommended that it be made illegal to appeal to the public for any war charity unless the body asking the appeal is registered; and that the Home Secretary be empowered to make the necessary regulations and conditions.[1]

Following this report the Charities Registration Act was passed. This required registration of war charities by municipal authorities—the councils of counties, boroughs, and urban districts; and authorized the charity commissioners to make regulations providing the forms for applications and registers and the fees, and providing for the inspection of registers. The report of the charity commissioners for the year 1916 showed that in the first four months in which the act had been in operation 4,179 charities were on the combined register, 1,606 had been exempted, and 18 had been refused registration.[2]

Prisoners of War[3]

For the assistance of British prisoners of war held by the enemy, and the care and employment of enemy prisoners, a number of committees and other agencies were organized.

In order to relieve the immediate necessities of British prisoners, several voluntary prisoners of war societies were formed; and a Central Prisoners of War Help Committee was established in London, to act as headquarters for information, to coordinate the work of different organizations, and to prevent overlapping. This central committee worked in close connection with the Swiss Red Cross.

In September, 1915, the Home Secretary (Sir John Simon) appointed a committee to collect, verify and record information as to the treatment of British subjects, military and civil, who

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 162; *The Political Quarterly*, No. 8 (1916), p. 164.
[2] 6 and 7 Geo. V, c. 43, August 23, 1916; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, Cd. 8521.
[3] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 158; *The Times History of the War*, xii, ch. 187, pp. 254-258.

had been made prisoners of war. Mr. Justice Younger was chairman of this committee, with representatives from the War Office, Home Office and Foreign Office. This committee did valuable work, and in a few cases reports were published on conditions in some of the German prison camps (as at Wittenberg and Gardelegen); but there was some criticism of the failure to make public the facts as to the treatment of British prisoners.

Better treatment for some prisoners was secured by an agreement, in May, 1916, that British and German wounded and invalided prisoners should be transferred to Switzerland.

While valuable service had been done, it became evident that further organization was necessary. The central committee had no power to compel obedience by voluntary agencies; there was a vast amount of overlapping; and while some prisoners received more than they could use, others received little and some none. Many parcels were badly packed or wrongly addressed, or had perishable goods; while there were also attempts to send forbidden articles.

In September, 1916, it was arranged that the joint war committee of the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John should take over all questions relating to the welfare of British prisoners. A new Central Prisoners of War Committee was appointed, with Sir J. Starr Jameson as chairman, and Mr. P. D. Agnew as managing director, to centralize and coordinate the various measures taken for the relief of prisoners of war. This committee undertook to furnish all British and Indian prisoners of war, whether military or civil, with a supply of food and clothing. The several voluntary committees and associations came to some extent under its direction, as their parcels could not be sent without its approval, except to officers.

A joint committee appointed to inquire into the organization and methods of the Central Prisoners of War Committee reported, in 1917, that there had been conflicts between regimental and local relief associations, and delay in organizing the central office, and made some criticism of the regulations.[1]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8615.

For enemy prisoners, a prisoners of war department was organized in the War Office; and an interdepartmental committee was established, with representatives from the Home Office, War Office, the Admiralty and the Foreign Office, to deal with any questions relating to prisoners of war labor in which two or more of the departments might be concerned. In January, 1917, the Prisoners of War Employment Committee was reconstituted, to consider applications for the employment of prisoners of war, combatant or civilian. Mr. J. F. Hope, M.P., was chairman of this committee, and Mr. G. D. Roseway, secretary.

Aid to Soldiers and Sailors[1]

In addition to the assistance furnished by the general relief organizations, several special committees were formed to help soldiers and sailors. In 1915 a committee on the employment of disabled soldiers and sailors was appointed by the President of the Local Government Board. In July of this same year, the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries established a departmental committee to consider and report what steps could be taken to promote the settlement and employment on the land in England and Wales of soldiers and sailors, whether disabled or otherwise, on discharge from the navy or the army. A committee was also appointed on the employment of disabled soldiers and sailors on British railways.

In connection with the new Labor Ministry, established at the end of 1916, a series of trade advisory committees were organized, to provide for disabled soldiers and sailors. Such committees were provided for tailoring, basket, skip and hamper trade, electricity trade, furniture trade, printing and kindred trades, boot and shoe manufacture, and the cinematograph trade.

Army and Navy Pensions

At the beginning of the war, the only official organization for the administration of the system of allowances and pensions for

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 154; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1914-16, Cd. 7915; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, Cd. 8741.

the army was the commissioners of the Royal Hospital for Soldiers at Chelsea. Not only was the scale of these payments then in force so inadequate as to require additions from voluntary sources, but, owing to the wide variation in the circumstances of the officers and men in the new armies, an elaborate examination into individual cases was needed to adjust the total to the necessities of the recipients. This work of investigation and supplementing the government payments was in the hands of three voluntary organizations: the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society, and the Patriotic Fund Corporation. By November these societies had been overwhelmed by the growth of the army; and there was also much dissatisfaction expressed at the inequalities, overlapping and anomalies arising out of the voluntary system of supplementing the government payments.[1]

Under these conditions a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider a scheme of pensions and grants for officers and men in the military and naval service. This committee was composed of G. N. Barnes, Austen Chamberlain, David Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Reginald McKenna and T. P. O'Connor, representing all political parties. It presented a series of reports during 1915, recommending an increased scale of payments, with additional allowances dependent on the age of widows and the number of children, and also proposed the establishment of a new central body, representing the voluntary societies and the government, to have charge of a fund (to be mainly voluntary) for supplementing the government grants.[2]

After a somewhat stormy course through Parliament, a new Naval and Military War Pensions Act was passed on November 10, 1915.[3] This followed the now familiar practice of setting up another agency for every undertaking, by establishing as a new central authority a Statutory Committee of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, consisting of 27 members—one repre-

[1] *The Times History of the War*, x, ch. 163, pp. 347-348.
[2] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 5, pp. 161-163; Reports in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Nos. 53, 196, 328.
[3] 5 and 6 Geo. V, c. 83.

sentative of each of seven government departments (the Treasury, Admiralty, Army Council, National Health Insurance, and the Local Government Boards of England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland), two representatives of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, six representatives of the Royal Patriotic Fund Corporation, and twelve members nominated by the Crown. The duties of this committee were to deal with doubtful points in the allocation of government pensions and grants; to frame regulations for supplementary allowances and for allowances in cases where no provision was made from public funds; and to make provision for the care of disabled officers and men after they left the service, including provision for their health, training and employment.

The act also provided for new local authorities—a committee in each county, county borough, and borough or urban district of over 50,000 population, with subcommittees (or under special circumstances independent local committees) for smaller areas. These local committees were to be appointed under schemes framed by the local councils and approved by the Statutory Committee. The chairman should be a member of the local council and at least a majority of the members should be appointed by the local council, with representatives of labor, women, a substantial representation of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association or the Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society or other persons engaged in war relief work. The local committees were to make inquiries, to act as local agents for the Statutory Committee, and to solicit and receive contributions from the public for the supplementary allowances.

Following the precedent of the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905 and the National Relief Fund, this measure endeavored to bring into one organization public authorities and voluntary organizations, and to secure funds, in addition to the government grants, by appealing to the charitable public. Criticism was made of the multiplication of administrative machinery. It was argued that the Old Age Pensions committees of the local councils had performed satisfactorily the duty of dealing with dependents

other than the wives and children of soldiers; and that the transfer of this work risked the loss of administrative experience, good will and the bond established between the local councils and the military and naval authorities. [1]

More serious objection was made to the financial provisions. There was controversy over the use of voluntary funds in any government scheme; and demands were made in labor circles that the government take over the whole burden. The question whether the Statutory Committee should consider grants from local funds delayed the operation of the local committees. [2]

Nevertheless much good preliminary work was done. In 1916 a government grant of £1,000,000 was made as a nucleus for the supplementary funds; and in October it was announced that the nucleus fund would be increased to £6,000,000 and that the scale of regular rates would be increased. Agreements were reached between the Statutory Committee and the local authorities. Draft regulations for grants to supplement pensions and other regular allowances were published in July, 1916. [3]

The report of the Statutory Committee on war pensions for the year 1916 described the administrative organization established to carry out the Pensions Act of 1915. The Prince of Wales was chairman of the committee at first; but after the Pensions Ministry was created, Mr. G. N. Barnes, Minister of Pensions, became head of the committee. Five subcommittees were appointed: organization and general purposes; finances; pensions, grants and allowances; disablements, with sections on health, and on training and employment; and officers' pensions, grants and allowances. Local committees were organized in every administrative county (128) and county borough (95); and also in 19 municipal boroughs and urban districts, and in the Isle of Man; a total of 302 local committees. In 12 cases provision was made for distinct district committees in counties; but subcommittees were regularly provided under the county com-

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 8, p. 163.
[2] *The Times History of the War*, x, ch. 163, p. 348.
[3] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1916, Cd. 8316.

mittees. The number of members on these local committees did not usually exceed 31. [1]

But the number of cases had become unmanageable; and confusion was caused by the conflicting views of different authorities. There were no less than six chief authorities: the Admiralty, Greenwich Hospital, the War Office, Chelsea Hospital, the new Statutory Committee, and the Civil Liabilities Commission—established in May, 1916, to deal with questions of principle in cases of doubt or difficulty arising in the administration of the scheme for enabling soldiers to meet their civil liabilities. [2] There was also the Central Army Pensions Issue Office, responsible for making the actual payments. There was more or less overlapping and considerable delay and friction; and while the conflicting authorities were composing their differences, the unfortunate soldier or his dependents received nothing. The most common case was due to the War Office stopping separation allowances on discharge, instead of waiting for local inquiry and action.

In October, 1916, a new Cabinet committee was appointed to inquire into the whole question. This recommended a pensions board, with a responsible minister at its head, to coordinate the work of the existing bodies. It was explained that this board would deal only with military pensions, not including service pensions nor the Admiralty. Criticism of this plan led to its amendment, which was accepted by the government, and the establishment of a more centralized system, with a Pensions Minister and no board, including the Admiralty except as to service pensions. [3]

The act for establishing a Ministry of Pensions and for purposes connected therewith became law December 22, 1916. [4] This provided for a Minister of Pensions, appointed by the King, in order to unify the administration of pensions, grants and allowances. To this Minister was transferred the powers and du-

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, Cd. 8750.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 160.
[3] *The Times History of the War*, x, ch. 163, pp. 349, 350.
[4] 6 and 7 Geo. V, c. 65.

ties of: (a) the Admiralty with respect to pensions and grants to the naval forces, other than service pensions, so far as payable out of moneys provided by Parliament and not provided exclusively for Greenwich Hospital; (b) the Royal Hospital for Soldiers at Chelsea, with respect to disability pensions and grants other than in-pensions; and (c) the Army Council and Secretary of State for the War Department with respect to pensions and grants to the military forces, other than service pensions. Orders in Council were authorized to make adaptations in the enactments relating to such powers and duties, and to fix the time or times of transfer.

The powers and duties of the Statutory Committee under the Naval and Military War Pensions, etc., Act, 1915, were to be exercised and performed by that committee under the control of the Minister of Pensions. Local committees under the same act of 1915 were, at the instance of the Minister of Pensions, to exercise the functions exercisable by these committees at the instance of the Statutory Committee.

Customary provisions were made in the act as to the salary of the Minister; the appointment of a secretary, officers and servants; style, seal and proceedings; eligibility of the Minister and the secretary to sit in the House of Commons; and the transfer of officers.

By this act the administration of government pensions and allowances to soldiers and sailors and their families was more centralized. But the centralization was not complete; and the new Ministry involved a further distribution of the former powers of the Admiralty and War Office, without combining either the central or the local administration of army and navy pensions with other government pensions and relief agencies. Moreover, there was some question whether the experiment of a political minister for this work would prove satisfactory. Many feared that it might result in pensions becoming the shuttlecock of parties.

The new Ministry was inaugurated by the appointment of George N. Barnes, a member of the Labor party, as Minister, in

the Lloyd George administration. Under date of February 26, 1917, there was published the draft of a Royal Warrant and of an Order in Council for a new schedule of pensions to disabled soldiers and sailors and to the families and dependents of deceased soldiers and sailors in consequence of the present war.[1] This provided for a scale of weekly pensions to disabled soldiers, in eight classes, ranging from maxima from 27s. 6d. for privates to 42s. 6d. for warrant officers, for the loss of two or more limbs, down to one-fifth of these amounts for the loss of two fingers, with additional allowances for children. The minimum weekly pensions to widows were from 13s. 9d. for privates to 21s. 3d. for warrant officers, with the same scale of additional allowances for children as for disabled soldiers. A Royal Warrant for pensions to soldiers and their families and dependents and an Order in Council with regulations for pensions to seamen, etc., were issued under date of March 28, 1917.[2]

Other documents were prepared providing for the retired pay of disabled officers and for pensions for families and dependents of deceased officers, nurses, etc.,[3] and instructions for the assessment of alternative pensions for those earning high wages or salaries in civil life, providing that local committees should consult with advisory wages boards of the Ministry of Labor.

In August, 1917, Mr. Barnes, the Minister of Pensions, replying to a question calling attention to complaints of delay in fixing pensions, called attention to "the increasing, irregular and vast growth" of the work of the new department. The staff consisted of 3,500, mostly women, most of them with little more than a year's service and none with any prewar experience. Weekly payments had been authorized to nearly 750,000 men, women and children; the number of "renewals" each month was reaching tens of thousands; and the preparation of cases for the new Appeals Tribunal promised to add still further to the burden.[4]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8485.
[2] *Ibid.,* No. 64.
[3] *Ibid.,* Cd. 8631.
[4] *Solicitors Journal,* August 4, 1917. By the end of 1917, there were more than 1,000,000 cases.

A Naval and Military War Pensions, etc. (Transfer of Powers) Act, 1917, transferred to the Minister of Pensions the powers, duties and functions of the Statutory Committee.

In addition to the substantial increase of financial relief in pensions, the policy of the government for the assistance of those suffering as the result of military and naval service was extended to include measures for their restoration to social and industrial efficiency. These measures included continued medical treatment after discharge, and assistance in education and industrial training. [1]

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917,* pp. 185-189.

CHAPTER IX

Trade and Transportation

From the beginning of the war there was a great increase in the extensive and multifarious duties of the Board of Trade; and as the war progressed the expansion of the functions of this Ministry and its agencies continued to develop. In addition to a multitude of committees and commissions, a number of new departments have been created; and after a time a series of new Ministries was organized, which took over important sections of the Board of Trade functions with new powers and duties.

The Board of Trade

Before the war the Board of Trade had dealt with a numerous variety of matters relating to transportation, by rail and by water, trade, commerce, industry and labor. Its history can be traced from the councils for trade and for foreign plantations created in 1660, and the Board of Trade and Plantations which existed from 1695 to 1781. After 1782 there was a committee of the Privy Council on trade matters, whose functions were mainly statistical and consultative. After 1840 new duties of an executive and administrative character were added. In 1862 the Board of Trade in its present form was organized. It is one of a number of nominal boards in the British administration, consisting of a group of older officials, who never meet, while the work of the board is carried on under the direction of the president, who is regularly a member of the Ministry and of the House of Commons.

In addition to the president and the usual parliamentary and permanent secretaries, there are five assistant secretaries, each having charge of one of the principal departments into which the work of the Board of Trade was divided, as follows:

The Railway department had powers of regulation over railways and other public utilities, such as street railways, water, gas and electric plants.

The Harbor department had control over ports and harbors, and supervision over the bodies in charge of lighthouses.

The Marine department exercised an extensive control over merchant shipping, registering vessels, examining officers, and regulating the methods of operation.

The Labor Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance department administered the agencies for dealing with labor and employment problems.

The Commercial department collected and published information, mainly statistical, on trade and commerce of the United Kingdom, British colonies and foreign countries.

Other matters entrusted to the Board of Trade included the supervision of joint stock companies; bankruptcy; patents, designs and trade-marks; standards of weights and measures; the census of production; and trade boards. Connected with the Board of Trade is the Light Railway Commission; and there is also a Railway and Canal Commission.

Railway and Canal Administration

On August 4, 1914, the day of the declaration of war, a plan for the government control of the railway system of Great Britain through a central Railway Executive Committee was formulated, and announced through an Order in Council, under the Regulation of the Forces Act, 1871—which took effect at midnight.

The foundation for the governmental authority under which the control of the railways was taken over had been laid in a series of parliamentary acts from 1842 to 1888. An act of 1842, providing for the better regulation of railways and the transportation of troops, made it mandatory upon the directors of any railway to move troops, with their equipment and military stores at prices and upon conditions to be arranged by con-

tract. Two years later another act specified the maximum rates for conveying troops and military stores. The rates of military fares were revised in the Cheap Trains Act of 1883.[1]

Following the Franco-Prussian War, the Regulation of the Forces Act of 1871[2] provided that in case of emergency, declared by Order in Council, the Secretary of State might by warrant empower any person to take possession of any railroad in the United Kingdom and to use the same at such times and in such manner as the Secretary of State may direct. Such warrant could not be drawn for a longer period than one week; but was renewable "from week to week as long as, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, the emergency continues."

The National Defense Act of 1888[3] gave the government, under emergency conditions, power to dictate to the railways what precedence should be given to special kinds of traffic.

Under this legislation plans of organization had been worked out; and plans of mobilization had been prepared and tested on a small scale in army maneuvers. In 1865 the Engineer and Railway Volunteer Staff Corps had been organized, with the object of directing the application of skilled labor and of railway transport to the problem of national defense, and for preparing plans to meet the actual conditions of war. This corps consisted of railway officials, engineers and large contractors, who were usually given honorary commissions in the British army. When the Territorial Forces were created, the Engineer and Railway Staff Corps was merged in the Royal Engineers of those forces, but remained under the administration of the War Office.[4]

In 1896 a Railway War Council had been created, to act in an advisory capacity to the Engineer and Railway Staff Corps. This consisted of fifteen members, of whom six were railway managers, and nine represented different branches of the army, navy and the Board of Trade, with the Deputy Quartermaster

[1] 5 and 6 Vict., ch. 55, sec. 20; 7 and 8 Vict., ch. 85, sec. 12; 46 and 47 Vict., ch. 34, sec. 6.
[2] 34 and 35 Vict., ch. 86.
[3] 51 and 52 Vict., ch. 31.
[4] *The Times History of the War*, vi, ch. 100, p. 183.

General as president. In 1912, this council was superseded by the Railway Executive Committee, composed of general managers of railways, which served as a link between the army and the railways. Before the war, this committee dealt largely with the Engineer and Railway Staff Corps and with the Director General of Military Transport, in working out and testing plans and methods for railway service in time of war. For several years before the war, operating railway executives from time to time received sealed orders covering mobilization schemes in detail, which automatically became effective on the outbreak of war. [1]

As noted above, on August 4, 1914, an Order in Council was promulgated under the act of 1871 declaring that an emergency had arisen in which it was expedient for the government to have control of the railways of Great Britain. On the same date a warrant was issued by Mr. Asquith, as Secretary of State for War, empowering the president of the Board of Trade to take possession of all the railroads (excluding tramways) in Great Britain and to use the same for the conveyance of naval or military forces or stores or for any other purpose. This warrant has been renewed from week to week. [2]

From the beginning the government control has been exercised through the Railway Executive Committee, previously organized. The official chairman of this committee was the president of the Board of Trade. The acting chairman was Herbert A. Walker, of the London and Northwestern Railway. The other members consisted of the general managers of the important railway systems in Great Britain, with the superintendent of one railroad. The number of members, at first eleven, was later increased to fourteen; and the railways represented operated more than 15,000 miles, or about three-fourths of the entire railway mileage of Great Britain. Since August, 1914, a few changes in personnel have been made in the committee; but as a whole it has remained substantially the same. The several members of the committee, in addition to their work on the committee,

[1] F. H. Dixon and J. H. Parmelee: *War Administration of the Railways in the United States and Great Britain,* pp. 76-78.
[2] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* September, 1914, pp. 368-369.

are also responsible for the management and operation of their respective railways. [1]

Commenting on these arrangements, one writer has remarked: "It would be more correct to write that the railways were during the war administered not by the government, but for the government, the management of the railways and the staff control being the same as in the days of peace. Orders for the necessary facilities were issued by the Transport Department of the War Office and the Railway Executive furnished the trains." Moreover, the railway transport officers in the War Office were often men who in civil life had been railway officials. [2]

Distinct advantages appear to have resulted in the management of the railways from the existence before the war of a definite organization and plan of action. Moreover the concentration of authority in the hands of one central body from the beginning appears to have aided in securing more satisfactory results than in other lines of activity. There is a noticeable absence in the records of numerous special, investigating and temporary committees, submitting discordant reports; and the organization set up at the outset of the war has remained in existence without change in the general system.

At the same time, it may be said that the ordinary peace organization of the railroads had been already more generally combined in a small number of companies, than in other lines of business brought under government control; and the task of uniting and coordinating their activities was perhaps less difficult on this account.

By mutual agreement between the government and the railways it was provided that instead of paying for any specific movement of troops or supplies, the government guaranteed each road its normal net income for the year 1913, and would pay such sums of money as would secure this result. Later the government agreed to assume the burden of increased rates of pay allowed as a war bonus to railway employes. Early in 1917 the

[1] Dixon and Parmelee: *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 78-80.
[2] *The Times History of the War*, vi, ch. 100, pp. 183-184, 188.

financial agreement was further modified so as to provide a four per cent interest allowance by the government on all capital invested in railway property since August 4, 1917; and also to provide that reasonable charges for maintenance of road and equipment could be carried in the operating expense accounts. [1]

Reports of financial operations up to March 31, 1916, show that the government had paid to the railroads £6,851,957 for the eight months ending March 31, 1915, and £5,879,876 for the next twelve months. These amounts were about nine and five per cent, respectively, of the net revenues of the railways for 1913. In view of the tremendous movement of troops, munitions and supplies, the indications are that the government has paid a relatively small amount for the transportation business it has furnished to the railways. [2]

Important changes were made in railroad service arrangements in 1916. Competitive trains on the different main trunk lines were discontinued; cheap excursions were canceled; long distance expresses were made to serve intermediate stations; and hundreds of trains disappeared from the railway schedules. As a further deterrent to passenger traffic, fares were increased by one-half on January 1, 1917; and shortly afterwards passengers were required to handle their own baggage, not to exceed 100 pounds each. On most railways restaurant cars ceased to run. [3]

Government control applied at first to all the steam railways in Great Britain, except the underground and local railways of London; but did not include the railways in Ireland. But on January 1, 1917, the Irish railways also passed under government control, under another Order in Council, and under virtually the same arrangements as for Great Britain except that a separate railway executive committee was established for Ireland with the Under-Secretary for Ireland as nominal chairman. [4]

[1] Dixon and Parmelee: *op. cit.*, pp. 82-88.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[3] *The Times History of the War,* xii, ch. 192, pp. 429-430.
[4] Dixon and Parmelee: *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Included in the railway systems taken under government control was about half the mileage (1,025 miles) of inland canals in Great Britain. The owners of and carriers on independent canals found themselves unable to meet the competition of higher wages paid on the railway routes; and a serious reduction of canal traffic resulted. To meet these conditions, on January 1, 1917, the Board of Trade took over all the principal independent canal companies, and subsequently took over the Irish canals, on the same financial terms as the railways—embracing 1,202 miles of waterways in England and 304 miles in Ireland.

A Canal Control Committee was appointed to manage the canals, including representatives of the Board of Trade, the War Office, the Ministry of Munitions and of the railway companies, canal companies and canal carriers. Three subcommittees were organized for the northern, midland and southern canals. The committee has taken steps to secure and train men for canal work, and to increase canal traffic in order to relieve the railways; and the decrease of canal traffic is said to have been averted. [1]

Foreign Trade and Enemy Property

Various measures were taken for the regulation of foreign trade and enemy property—both for preventing trading with the enemy and for the protection and promotion of British trade with other countries.

Under the common law, trading with the enemy was unlawful; and a Royal Proclamation of August 5, 1914, gave notice warning any person resident, carrying on business, or being in the British dominions against trading or having any commercial intercourse with any person resident, carrying on business, or being in the German Empire. Another Royal Proclamation of August 12, extended this prohibition to trading with Austria-Hungary. On September 9, a revised proclamation relating to

[1] *Board of Trade Journal,* January 10, 1918; reprinted in U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No. 27, February 1, 1918.

trading with the enemy was issued, extending the prohibitions and providing for exceptions by licenses given by a Secretary of State or the Board of Trade. Further amendments and extensions were made from time to time.[1]

Proclamations were also issued, under the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1879, prohibiting the exportation from the United Kingdom of certain warlike stores and provisions. On August 28, 1914, a new Customs (Exportation Prohibition) Act became law, extending the provisions of the act of 1879 to all articles, during a state of war, and providing that proclamations made under that act might be amended by an Order of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Board of Trade.[2]

Under this act, Orders of Council were issued from time to time amending, modifying and varying the proclamations prohibiting exports.[3]

An Act of Parliament relating to trading with the enemy became law on September 18, 1914. This imposed severe penalties on persons trading with the enemy in contravention of proclamation, statute or common law; and gave powers to the Board of Trade to inspect books and documents, and in certain cases to apply to the High Court for the appointment of a receiver.[4]

Under these acts and the proclamations, a number of prosecutions took place. In one case, a firm of Glasgow merchants was convicted of being instrumental in supplying a cargo of iron ore to Krupp and other German concerns.[5]

Difficult legal questions arose as to what constituted an alien enemy, in the case of corporations and others. In the case of the Continental Tyre and Rubber Co. (Great Britain) Limited v. Daimler Company, Limited, the Court of Appeals held (January 15, 1915) that the tire company was an English company. It was incorporated in England, but was an offshoot of a Ger-

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* September, 1914, pp. 98, 375, 378, 384, 530; Supplement No. 3, p. 545.
[2] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* September, 1914, pp. 23, 160-168; 4 and 5 Geo. V, ch. 64.
[3] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* September, 1914, pp. 170-176, 520.
[4] 4 and 5 Geo. V, ch. 87.
[5] *The Times History of the War,* v, ch. 90, p. 298.

man company, which held most of the shares; and the rest were held by Germans resident in Germany, except one held by the secretary, a German by birth, naturalized in 1910. This decision was supported by five judges, with one judge dissenting. But the House of Lords overruled the decision by the unanimous action of the eight judges sitting, on the ground that the secretary had no authority from the company to commence the action. Lord Halsbury, in his opinion, answered Lord Reading's argument (in the Court of Appeals) that the company was a "live thing," and stated that "no one has authority to issue a writ on behalf of an alien enemy." [1]

In the case of Porter v. Freudenberg, the Court of Appeals held (January 19, 1915) that the test of a person being an alien enemy is his place of residence or business, and not his nationality; that an alien can not sue in the King's court unless he has a license to reside in the realm; but that he may be sued, and if sued may defend and appeal. [2]

Custody of Enemy Property

In September, 1914, licenses were granted by the Home Secretary to certain German, Austrian and Turkish banks, in the United Kingdom, to continue in business to complete transactions begun before the war under the supervision of a Treasury agent. Other licenses were granted to certain enemy subjects by the Home Secretary and the Board of Trade. [3]

An act of November 27, 1914, amending the Trading with the Enemy Act, provided for the appointment by the Board of Trade of an official custodian of enemy property for England and Wales, for Scotland and for Ireland respectively. The Public Trustee (under the Public Trustee Act, 1906) was designated

[1] *The Times History of the War,* ix, ch. 150 pp. 467-468.
[2] *Ibid.,* ix, ch. 150, p. 471.
[3] *The Times History of the War,* ix, ch. 150, p. 446. A report of Sir William Plender, appointed as Controller of German and Austrian banks in London, showed that the number of enemy subjects in these banks had been reduced from 440 on July 31, 1914, to 10 on December 1, 1916; and the number of British subjects had been reduced from 473 to 148. *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8430. See also *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8455.

as custodian for England and Wales; the Accountant of the Court of Session as custodian for Scotland; and the Official Assignee in Bankruptcy attached to the King's Bench Division of the High Court (Ireland) as custodian for Ireland.[1]

Under this act it was required that enemy property be registered with the custodian by trustees and incorporated companies, dividends and other income for the benefit of an enemy to be paid to the custodian; and the High Court was authorized to vest any such property in the custodian, and to confer on him powers of selling, managing or otherwise dealing with it.

The report of the Public Trustee for the year ended March 31, 1915, showed that enemy property to the value of £84,000,000 had been registered; and that income of £700,000 had been received. Arrangements had been made with the Bank of England for investments.[2]

The report of the Public Trustee for the year ended March 31, 1916, showed a temporary staff of 97 persons employed in carrying out the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy Act. The financial interests involved may be summarized as follows:

Total enemy property, including debts, as notified or paid over	£134,000,000
Total British property, including debts, in enemy countries, estimated on the basis of voluntary registration	90,000,000
Total enemy property (including cash) paid over or vested in the Public Trustee	£ 7,955,052
Investments made by the custodian in accordance with Treasury directions	2,748,484

War Trade Department

On February 20, 1915, the Treasury announced the formation of a new War Trade Department, to replace the former committee on trade with the enemy in dealing with applications for export and import licenses during the war, and to embrace an intelligence division which should serve as a clearing house for all war commercial information. The remainder of the work

[1] 5 Geo. V, ch. 12; *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 2, p. 19; Supplement No. 3, p. 552.
[2] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1914-1916, Cd. 7833.

of the Trading with the Enemy Committee (relating to the movement of funds and other questions mainly concerning the Treasury) was transferred to the Treasury, to be performed by the Parliamentary Counsel and his staff. The Privy Council export license department was moved to the offices of the War Trade Committee to act in connection with the new department. [1]

The Right Honorable Lord Emmott was appointed as director of this department. In addition to the director and secretariat, the department has been organized in three sections. The licensing section deals with applications for licenses for the export of goods which are subject to prohibition or restriction on export. It includes a statistical branch, and keeps records of all applications for licenses and of the decisions given. The intelligence section is a clearing house for war commercial intelligence. The statistical section has for its main function the collection of statistics of all imports into neutral countries in northern Europe contiguous to the enemy. [2]

A War Trade Advisory Committee was formed on September 20, 1915, to advise on the restriction of enemy supplies, to coordinate the administration of the War Trade Department with the Contraband Committee (of the Foreign Office), and to advise the Cabinet on questions of policy arising from the work of these bodies. This committee consisted of 25 members, with Sir F. Hopwood as chairman; and included Sir Robert Cecil, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Lord Emmott, Director of the War Trade Department, and Mr. Steel-Maitland. [3]

Several other laws amending the Trading with the Enemy Act were passed during the latter part of 1915. An act of December, 1915 (ch. 98), gave powers to extend the prohibitions on trading to persons of enemy nationality or enemy association though not resident or carrying on business in enemy territory or enemy occupied territory. A Royal Proclamation was issued under this act on February 29, 1916; and after amendment was replaced

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, Supplement No. 3, p. 551.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 163; *cf. British Imperial Calendar*, 1916, p. 467.
[3] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 16.

by a new proclamation on May 23, 1916, which was afterwards varied and extended from time to time. An extension of the so-called Black List of business concerns in neutral countries with whom trading was prohibited, issued in July, 1916, included a list of houses in the United States. A foreign trade department under a controller, was established to carry out the policy embodied in this law. [1]

In January, 1916, the Board of Trade was given power to wind up businesses connected with the enemy, and authorized to appoint a controller with large powers of management. [2]

A new Trading with the Enemy Advisory Committee of four members was appointed on February 9, 1916, to advise the Board of Trade on matters connected with the Trading with the Enemy Amendment Act, 1916. [3]

Other committees were appointed on rubber and tin exports (January and March, 1915), diamond exports, coal and coke exports, and exports.

Restrictions on imports were also begun early in 1916. A Paper and Wood Pulp Royal Commission was established, on February 15, 1916, for the grant of licenses and to arrange for the importation of materials for the manufacture of paper, and of paper and cardboard and manufactures thereof, and for their distribution among paper makers and paper users on such terms and subject to such conditions as may appear equitable to the commission.

Other articles were added to the list of restricted imports—raw tobacco, many building materials, furniture, woods, some fruits, teas, coffee, rum, and some manufactured articles. Special commissions were appointed to deal with each trade.

An Imports Restrictions Department was organized in March, 1916, for the grant of licenses under the provisions of the various proclamations for prohibition of imports. Mr. R. E. Enthoven

[1] 5 and 6 Geo. V, chs. 79, 98, 195; List of Orders in Council, in *Defense of the Realm Manual*, 4th ed., p. 133, note b; U. S. *Commerce Reports*, No. 23, January 28, 1916.

[2] *The Times History of the War*, ix, ch. 150, p. 462.

[3] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 162.

was appointed Controller; and three committees were formed to advise the Controller on the importation of (*a*) tobacco; (*b*) preserved, etc., fruits; and (*c*) woods and stones, respectively. There was also an advisory committee on imports of oranges.[1]

In December, 1916, another committee was formed, with Lord Curzon of the War Cabinet as chairman, to report on further restrictions of imports. New restrictions were put in force on March 1, 1917, under the supervision of the Board of Trade; and imports were decreased by 600,000 tons a month.

Insurance

For the protection of British trade a scheme for the insurance of ships and cargoes, based on a report of a subcommittee of the Committee on Imperial Defense, was announced on August 4, 1914. Under this the government was to insure 80 per cent of the war risks on ships at flat rates (ranging from 1 to 5 per cent), the existing mutual insurance associations to accept the remaining 20 per cent, and to be responsible for administration. For the insurance of cargoes a special government insurance department was to be provided; with an advisory board, with powers to fix rates of premium, within the limits of 1 to 5 per cent. A similar scheme was arranged by the Board of Trade with an association representing the owners of steam fishing vessels.[2]

The War Risks Advisory Committee, to carry out the government scheme of cargo insurance, appointed in August, 1914, consisted of 17 members, with Sir D. Owen as chairman, and Mr. J. W. Verdier as secretary. On August 31, the premium rates on cargo insurance were announced at 2 per cent.[3]

A committee was appointed by the Board of Trade on June 21, 1915, consisting of five members, with Mr. F. H. Jackson as chairman, to consider: "whether a scheme can be devised to cover loss and damage by bombardment and aircraft, in so far

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, pp. 154, 157; *Times History of the War*, xi, ch. 169, p. 92.
[2] *The Political Quarterly*, i, 165, 183.
[3] *The Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 163.

as such loss and damage are not covered by the terms of the ordinary fire insurance policy." The committee reported on July 9, recommending arrangements with fire insurance companies, and the establishment of a government insurance office, to issue policies and settle claims, at proposed rates from 2 to 10 shillings. After this scheme was established the government should not indemnify persons for loss due to aircraft or bombardment. [1]

An Aircraft Insurance Committee was provided, with Mr. J. W. Verdier, secretary of the Cargoes Insurance Committee, as secretary. Those two insurance schemes appear to have been later combined into a War Risks Insurance Office with a War Risks Advisory Committee, having two sections, one on marine insurance and one on aircraft and bombardment insurance. [2]

An Insurance Intelligence Department was also organized in connection with the Board of Trade.

During August, 1914, the Commercial Intelligence Department of the Board of Trade issued a series of monographs on trade conditions in markets formerly held by German and Austrian traders. Reports on conditions and prospects, received through the Colonial and Foreign Office from commissioners and consuls, were published.

The Imperial Institute, connected with the Colonial Office, opened a new bureau for the supply of technical information on sources of raw materials, methods of utilizing new products from the colonies, India, etc. [3]

On August 28, 1914, the Articles of Commerce (Returns, etc.) Act became law, empowering the Board of Trade to require returns as to the stocks of any articles of commerce in or in transit to the United Kingdom, and to take possession of the supplies of any articles unreasonably withheld from the market, payment, in default of agreement, to be decided by the arbitration of judges of the High Courts. [4]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Cd. 7997.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 163.
[3] *The Political Quarterly*, i, 184.
[4] 4 and 5 Geo. V, ch. 65.

A committee, known as the Prize Executive Committee, was formed in the Board of Trade, for the purpose of dealing otherwise than in the prize court with detained cargoes which though possibly liable in law to condemnation as prize might with advantage be released.[1]

Domestic Trade and Industry

Internal commerce and manufactures were also brought under active government regulation by a variety of committees and other agencies. Those dealing with the supply of munitions and other war materials have been discussed in the chapter on the Ministry of Munitions; and other parts of this report deal with railway and canal traffic, shipping and food supplies. Here attention will be given to a varied list of other materials and products of importance in commerce.

Chemical Products

In August, 1914, a government chemical products supply committee was established to consider and advise as to the best means of obtaining for the use of British industries sufficient supplies of chemical products, colors and dyestuffs of kinds hitherto largely imported from enemy countries. This committee consisted of 20 members, with Lord Haldane as chairman and Mr. F. Gossling as secretary, and included a number of scientific specialists and a representative of the Board of Trade.[2]

In December, the Board of Trade announced a scheme for the formation of a national joint stock company for the manufacture of aniline dyes, outlined in a circular by the Board of Trade committee on aniline dyes. This scheme was not favorably received by the industries concerned; and after conferences a modified scheme was approved by the committee on January 29 (with financial arrangements approved by the Treasury), capable of development into a more comprehensive scheme.[3]

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 158; *The Political Quarterly*, i, 184.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 150.
[3] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 5 (1915), pp. 163-164.

In connection with the dyestuffs schemes a commissioner for dyes and a Dye Colors Distribution Committee were provided.

A Petrol Committee was appointed on April 20, 1916, to insure that adequate supplies of petrol (or gasoline for motor cars) shall be available for the purposes of the war and for other essential needs, and, with that object, to regulate the use of petrol for other purposes in the United Kingdom. [1]

During the year 1917, the petroleum industry was brought fully under government control. In February an interdepartmental committee on petroleum was formed. In May a special department on the control of petroleum and petroleum products was organized in the Ministry of Munitions. There was provided a mineral oil production department, and a petroleum pool board in charge of distribution. The petrol control department of the Board of Trade issued licenses, and controlled the rationing of the civilian population. In August a Petroleum Executive was formed, to deal with large questions of policy, and to coordinate the work of various departments, especially the Admiralty, the War Office and the Ministry of Munitions.

Other committees and agencies on chemical products have included the following:

Committee on the Use of Cocaine in Dentistry
Committee on Cocaine and Opium Permits
Advisory Committee on Lubricating Oils
Advisory Committee on Mineral Resources
Sulphate of Ammonia Distribution Committee
Sulphuric Acid and Fertilizers Trades Committee
Acetylene Committee
Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau
Potash Production
Committee on Supplies of Sicilian Sulphur

Coal and Coke

By February, 1915, problems connected with the supply of coal required attention; and two committees were organized to

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 157.

make inquiries. One was appointed by the Home Office, to inquire into conditions prevailing in the coal mining industries, with a view to promoting such organization of work and such cooperation between employers and workmen, as, having regard for the large number of miners who are enlisting for naval and military service, will secure the necessary production of coal during the war. This committee made several reports.[1]

About the same time as the above committee, the Board of Trade formed a committee to inquire into the causes of the rise in the retail price of coal sold for domestic use, especially to the poorer classes of consumers in London and other centers. This committee held 15 meetings, examined 33 witnesses and signed its report on March 24, 1915. It found a shortage of supplies due to the large number of miners who had enlisted, the decrease of seaborne traffic and congestion of traffic on the railroads. No definite "rings" were found, but conferences of dealers led to concerted action; and the arrangement for London and pit head prices was considered indefensible. Recommendations were made for accumulating supplies, lowering freight rates on domestic traffic and the use of prize ships; and if prices should not return to a reasonable level, the government should consider assuming control of the colliery output, with a view to regulating prices and distribution during the war.[2]

These two committees appear to have worked independently of each other; and the later results do not indicate any plan for coordinating their reports.

The Chief Inspector of Mines was appointed, with the Coal Mining Organization Committee and a representative of the War Office as an advisory body, to act as the central court in connection with the scheme of colliery recruiting courts established by the Home Secretary. In March 130,000 miners had been enlisted; by May, 1915, the number had increased to 220,000; and recruiting continued for months in many mining areas. Prob-

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 150.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 151; *The Political Quarterly*, No. 6, pp. 171-173.

ably 300,000 miners, 30 per cent of the men in the mines, joined the colors. [1]

In April, 1915, another committee was formed to consider and advise on all questions relating to the exportation of coal and coke and manufactured fuel to foreign countries. [2] Exports of coal were restricted; and in July, 1915, a Price of Coal Limitation Act was passed.

Still another Coal and Coke (Central) Supplies Committee was organized, early in February, 1916, to consider all questions relating to the distribution of coal and coke that may be referred to them from time to time by the Board of Trade, or submitted by district coal and coke supplies committees. [3]

In June, 1916, a new committee was formed to consider the position of the coal trade after the war, with especial reference to international competition and to report what measures, if any, are necessary to safeguard that position. [4]

In November, 1916, the government took over the South Wales coal mines; and an interdepartmental committee of three members was established, with representatives from the Board of Trade, the Home Office and the Admiralty, to advise in regard to directions to be given under the order for government control of these mines. [5]

A Coal Mines Department was organized in the Board of Trade with an advisory board. In connection with the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, a Fuel Research Board has been formed; also a Committee on Mine Rescue Research, and a Committee on Peat Deposits in Ireland. In March, 1917, government control was extended to all coal fields.

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 150; *The Political Quarterly,* No. 7 (1916), p. 11.
[2] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 150.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 150.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 151.
[5] *The Times History of the War,* x, ch. 163, p. 336; *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 161.

Timber and Alcohol

Early in the war, the Office of Works took over the purchase of timber for the War Office. On November 24, 1915, a Committee on Home Grown Timber was formed in the Board of Agriculture, to purchase and convert standing timber, to supply such timber to the government departments, and generally to make arrangements for the further utilization of native timber resources.

A *Commission Internationale d'Achats des Bois* was formed early in 1916. A War Cabinet committee recommended a reduction of timber imports. In 1917 a Timber Supplies Department was created, which took over the functions of the Office of Works and the Home Grown Timber Committee. At the end of May, 1917, this department was transferred from the War Office to the Board of Trade. [1]

In December, 1916, an advisory committee was set up to consider the best means to be adopted for securing adequate supplies of alcohol to meet the demand for war purposes and the essential industrial trades. This committee consisted of representatives of the distilleries, rectifiers, and methylators, and of the Board of Agriculture, Board of Customs and Excise, Board of Trade, and Ministry of Munitions. [2]

Textile Industries

A committee to consider the position of the textile industries after the war was formed in April, 1916, with Sir H. Brichenough as chairman.

In August, 1916, a central advisory committee for England and Wales was established, to advise the War Department on matters arising out of the purchase and distribution of English wool. This included representatives of agricultural interests, Bradford merchants, country merchants, spinners and manu-

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 138-140.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 148.

facturers and several government departments—the Board of Agriculture, the Board of Trade and the wool committee of the War Department. [1] The home wool clip of 1916 was purchased by the Army Contracts department of the War Office, and this policy was extended to the Australian clip at the end of 1916.

Further control of the woolen and worsted industries was announced by the Army Council in September, 1917. A board of control was established to regulate the allocation of wool, tops and other products and by-products; subject to the power of the Army Council to determine the amount of raw wool to be maintained in reserve for military purposes, and to fix, in consultation with the board, the amount to be released for civilian trade; and subject also to the power of the War Department to determine the terms and conditions of contracts for government supplies. Directors of raw materials and of wool textile production were to furnish information and cooperate with the board of control.

Under date of January 1, 1918, the War Office issued a revised, amended and consolidated order with regard to woolens and worsted in pursuance of the powers conferred under the Defense of the Realm Regulations. [2]

In August, 1917, the Ministry of Munitions took possession of all flax and the flax crop in the United Kingdom. A Cotton Control Board was also set up in the summer of 1917.

Early in 1917 a Central Leather Supplies Advisory Committee was formed, merging several previous advisory committees. This committee included representatives of the chief federations of employers and the leading trade unions in the leather trade. A number of subcommittees have been organized. [3]

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, pp. 161, 165.
[2] Reports from Consul General Robt. P. Skinner, in U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No 237, October 10, 1917, and No. 25, January 30, 1918.
[3] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917,* pp. 142-146.

Other Agencies

In addition to the foregoing the following committees, boards and departments have been established for various lines of business:

Building Trades Central Advisory Committee
Committee on Production
Committee on Work of National Importance
Glass and Optical Instruments Committee
Industrial (War Inquiries) Board
Machine Tool Committee
Metals and Materials Economy Committee
Passenger Traffic between United Kingdom and Holland Committee
Registry of Business Names Committee
Road Stone Control Committee
Scottish Shale Industries Committee
Shops Committee
Tobacco and Matches Control Board
Trade between British Empire and Belgium

At the end of 1917, it may be said that the whole industry of the country, production, transport and manufacture, had been brought more or less under government control. The degree of control varied from complete ownership, as with the national munitions factories and national shipyards, to the fixing of maximum output such as in brewing, or, as in the case of farming, the enforced transfer from private to public control in case of inefficient production.

Ships and Shipping

The First Year

From the beginning of the war the problem of ships and shipping was one of vital importance to the British Government and the British people in many ways. Ships were needed to transport the armies and their supplies. They constituted the fundamental equipment of the navy, while the Admiralty also had di-

rect charge of the army transport service. They further were essential for the economic life of the people, as the means of importing necessary food and other supplies, and for carrying on the export and domestic trade of the Empire.

Government supervision over merchant shipping interests formed one of the principal functions of the Board of Trade; and at the head of this department for more than two years of the war was a president (Mr. Walter Runciman) " who by heredity and early business experience should have been steeped in shipping lore, and the country should have been infinitely the gainer by the circumstance." Yet it was said of him that

> with good intentions, industrious and self-confident, [he] entirely failed throughout to cope with the issues raised. There were little signs of any leading on the part of the Board of Trade, but there were so many committees—so many cooks each with his finger in the pie—that it is difficult to say whose was really the responsibility for the chaos into which shipping was allowed to drift.[1]

Part of the difficulty, however, may be ascribed to the fact that the Board of Trade did not have by any means complete control of the situation. The Admiralty and the War Office exercised far-reaching authority; and the requirements of the military and naval authorities did much to complicate the situation.

At the outset of the war an Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board was organized to arrange terms for shipping requisitioned by the Admiralty, whether for the navy or for army transport. This board was a numerous body of representatives of various shipping interests, with Lord Inchape, chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Navigation Company, as president. The widely scattered ownership of shipping interests as compared with railroads may explain the more cumbersome organization provided for this work, as compared with the Railway Executive Committee.

The danger of serious interference with shipping movements by naval vessels of the enemy, before the advent of the submarine campaign, was not important. But before long a serious short-

[1] *The Times History of the War,* xi, ch. 169, p. 78.

age in the supply of vessels became evident. This may be explained as the result of a combination of factors. Requisitions for government service drew off many vessels from their normal service; and there was complaint of the lack of organization for the most efficient use of vessels for these purposes. There was delay in loading and unloading vessels at ports, on account of the congestion of traffic, due to the withdrawal of men for the army, and the regulations to prevent trading with the enemy. There was an increase of long voyages, for carrying sugar from distant parts of the world to offset the loss of the German supply. The blockade and internment of German vessels increased the demand for neutral vessels.

There was also a marked decrease in the amount of new shipbuilding for mercantile purposes. This was caused in part by the enlistment of men in the shipyards for the army, and later for the rapidly expanding munitions works. But another factor was the increased demand of the Admiralty for building vessels for the navy.[1]

Shipping Committees

In February, 1915, an Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments Production Committee was formed, which served as an arbitration tribunal under the Munitions of War Act.

Early in the second year of the war (November, 1915) a Ship Licensing Committee was appointed, to deal with licenses for ships to trade between foreign ports.[2]

In March, 1916, licensing was extended to all ships of over 500 tons gross trading to and from the United Kingdom; and licenses were refused for voyages to ports known to be congested.

In November, 1915, there was also established a committee on requisitioning ships for the carriage of foodstuffs. Mr. J. P. Whelpley, M.P., was chairman of this committee, which included the three shipowners who had been advising the transport de-

[1] *The Times History of the War*, xi, ch. 169, pp. 81-84.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, pp. 153, 160.

partment of the Admiralty. The policy of this committee was to direct owners to load their vessels in trade where tonnage was especially wanted. [1]

At the end of the same month a Port and Transit Committee was formed to inquire into difficulties and congestion at harbors, ports and docks, to regulate the work and coordinate the requirements. This committee consisted of ten members, including representatives of the Admiralty, War Office and Board of Trade, shipping and dock companies and the railways, with Lord Inchape as chairman. [2]

A Shipping Control Committee, with broader powers, was created on January 27, 1916: "to consider the demands made upon British merchant shipping tonnage to meet the essential requirements of the United Kingdom and the Allies, and to decide on the allocation of the available merchant shipping tonnage with a view to meeting these demands as far as possible, having regard to their relative importance." This committee consisted of only four members, with Lord Curzon as chairman. [3]

Another committee was appointed at the Board of Trade for the purpose of dealing otherwise than in the prize court with cargo which, though possibly liable in law to condemnation as prize, might with advantage be released. [4]

In March, 1916, still another committee was formed at the Foreign Office to inquire whether any avoidable delay was caused by the methods for dealing with ships and cargoes brought into British ports under the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and to make such general recommendations as they may think fit for improving such methods. [5]

Later in March a committee was established to consider the position of the shipping and shipbuilding industries after the war, especially in relation to international competition. [6]

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 159; *The Times History of the War*, xi, ch. 169, p. 69.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 157.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Other committees were formed to deal with diverted cargoes, delays in unloading, congestion at ports, and the detention of neutral ships.

The restriction of imports by means of licenses begun in 1916 also served to regulate the use of shipping. This was first applied to paper and wood pulp, by the appointment of a Royal Commission, in February; and was later extended to other articles, special commissions or committees being formed for each trade. [1]

The Shipping Ministry

Difficulties with shipping, however, continued; and were accentuated by the activities of enemy submarines, so that the need for further measures to promote shipbuilding and to secure a more effective organization of available shipping facilities became more and more pressing. On the formation of the Lloyd George Ministry in December, 1916, the appointment of a Shipping Controller was announced; and the New Ministries Act passed later in the same month made statutory provision for a new Ministry of Shipping. [2]

The act authorized the appointment of a Minister of Shipping under the title of Shipping Controller for the purpose of organizing and maintaining the supply of shipping in the national interest in connection with the present war, with the usual provisions for officers, salaries and expenses, enabling the Minister and secretaries to sit in the House of Commons, and providing for the cessation of the Ministry after the close of the war.

No attempt was made in the act to define the functions of the new Ministry; but these were to be transferred or conferred by Order in Council. In the words of the statute:

> It shall be the duty of the Shipping Controller to control and regulate any shipping available for the needs of the country in such manner as to make the best use thereof; having regard to the circumstances of the time, and to take such steps as he thinks best for providing an efficient supply of shipping, and for these purposes he shall have such powers and duties of any government department or authority, whether conferred by statute or otherwise, as

[1] *The Times History of the War,* xi, ch. 169, p. 92.
[2] 6 and 7 Geo. V, ch. 68.

His Majesty may by Order in Council transfer to him, or authorize him to exercise or perform concurrently with or in consultation with the government department or authority concerned, and also such further powers as may be conferred on him by regulations under the Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act, 1914, and regulations may be made under that act accordingly.

Joseph Maclay, a prominent shipowner, was appointed as the first Shipping Controller. He preferred not to hold a seat in the House of Commons; but was represented there by a parliamentary secretary. A Director of Transports and Shipping and other officers and employes were also appointed. There was further formed, in December, 1916, a Merchant Shipbuilding Committee, of seven members, to advise the Shipping Controller on the administration of a shipbuilding program. The president and secretary of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation were chairman and secretary of this committee. A Shipbuilding Construction Committee was also appointed. An Order in Council of January 12, 1917, required official permission to charter neutral vessels; and an Interallied Chartering Executive was provided, to ensure that all charters of foreign vessels by private firms were in the interest of the Allied nations.[1]

Other committees have been appointed on a standard uniform for the mercantile marine and on tonnage priority. A separate branch of the Shipping Ministry was formed for the coasting trade, which was brought under special control.

In February, 1917, Sir Edward Carson, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced that the Transport Department, except naval transport and the duty of naval transport to the army, had been taken over by the Shipping Controller. The advisory committee to the Transport Department had resigned shortly after the appointment of the Shipping Controller. The responsibility for merchant tonnage construction was also transferred to the Shipping Controller; but in May, when Sir Eric Geddes was appointed as Controller of the Navy, this reverted to the Admiralty.

Changes were made in the loading rules permitting an increase from 106 to 150 tons for each ton of registered shipping. Steps

[1] *The Times History of the War,* xi, ch. 169, p. 103.

were taken to expedite the building of ships under construction. Plans for the construction of standardized cargo vessels were formulated and put under way. [1]

As the result of the shipbuilding plans, merchant shipbuilding, which had fallen off largely in the first years of the war, was largely increased, though for some time not enough to offset the losses from the increased submarine activity which began early in 1917. Merchant shipbuilding had declined from 1,919,000 tons in 1913 to 542,000 tons in 1916, and increased to 1,163,000 tons in 1917. Competition from naval shipbuilding was still a factor; but the total of both naval and merchant shipbuilding for 1917 reached the record.

Although considerable improvement was made, the shipping problems were not entirely solved. There has been some criticism of the shipping ministers. Joseph Maclay was a shipowner but not a shipbuilder; and Lord Pirrie, who succeeded him, while a big business man at the head of a firm which built large liners, had no familiarity with the building of tramp cargo vessels, for which the need was most pressing. It has also been urged that the Admiralty control over shipping had made mistakes. [2]

On the other hand more effective use has been made of shipping facilities. At the end of 1916 less than half the British merchant tonnage had been requisitioned. A large proportion of tramp vessels had been taken over, but only a part of the passenger liners. In a few months practically all of the British ocean going marine had been brought under requisition, including nearly all the tramps and all the ocean liners. Vessels were withdrawn from the longer routes and transferred to shorter voyages. Special arrangements, complicated and transitory, were made with reference to neutral tonnage.

The Port and Transit Executive Committee was housed with the Shipping Ministry, and worked in cooperation with the Director of Ports of the new Ministry.

In February, 1917, the secretaries of the Shipwrights' Society

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 101, 103.
[2] *The New Statesman,* March 23, 1918.

and of the Boilermakers' Society were appointed as labor advisers to the Shipping Ministry. A Merchant Marine Conciliation Committee was formed to review labor conditions on merchant ships; and a National Wage Board was set up to establish a standard rate of wages for seamen. [1]

After the War Committees

As early as July, 1915, a subcommittee of the Advisory Committee to the Board of Trade on Commercial Intelligence was appointed with respect to measures for securing the position, after the war, of certain branches of British industry. This subcommittee, of five members, made a report to the Advisory Committee on January 11, 1916, which was adopted by the committee, presented to the Board of Trade and published for information. This report dealt with paper and printing, stationery, jewelry, cutlery, fancy leather goods, brushes and hardware; industrial research and training; copyright, patents and trademarks; transport facilities, financial assistance, trade exhibitions, the establishment of a ministry of commerce, and tariff protection, with reservations by one member as to the tariff. [2]

In the spring and early summer of 1916 a series of new committees was appointed to consider the position of particular trades after the war, especially in relation to international competition, and to report measures to safeguard that position. These included committees on shipping and shipbuilding (March 27), electrical trades (April 27), textile industries (April 28), coal trade (June 2), the engineering and iron and steel trades (July), and nonferrous metals trades. [3]

Allied Economic Conference

Meanwhile on June 14-17, 1916, there had been held at Paris the well known Economic Conference of the Allies for the pur-

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 107-116.
[2] *Parliamentary Papers*, Cd. 8181.
[3] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, pp. 151, 152, 153, 160, 161.

pose of proposing to their respective governments appropriate measures for realizing solidarity of views. The recommendations of this conference covered: (*a*) measures for the war period; (*b*) transitory measures for the period of reconstruction; and (*c*) permanent measures for mutual assistance and collaboration among the Allies. In the third group were included: (1) steps to render the Allies independent of enemy countries as regards raw materials and essential manufactures, such as government enterprises, government aid for scientific and industrial research, customs duties, and prohibitions; (2) the improvement of transport and communication facilities; (3) meetings of technical delegates for the assimilation of laws relating to patents, trade-marks and copyrights; and (4) that the governments should take necessary steps without delay. These recommendations were general and indefinite in character; and had of course no binding force on any of the governments.[1]

Following the Economic Conference of the Allies two new British committees of a general character were appointed in July, 1916, on trade conditions after the war. One of these was to consider the commercial and industrial policy to be adopted after the war, with special reference to the conclusions of the Allied Economic Conference. This committee consisted of 17 members, with Lord Balfour of Burleigh as chairman.[2]

Financial Facilities for Trade

In the same month another committee was appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the best means of meeting the needs of British firms after the war as regards financial facilities for trade, particularly with reference to large overseas contracts, and to prepare a detailed scheme for that purpose. This committee consisted of 12 members, with Lord Farringdon as chairman.

This committee submitted a report on August 31, 1916, recommending the formation of a new British Trade Bank, with a cap-

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1916, Cd. 8271.
[2] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 162; U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No. 54, March 6, 1918, p. 854.

ital of £10,000,000, which should open accounts for parties proposing to use its overseas facilities; establish foreign exchange credit departments and information bureau; make banking agency arrangements with existing colonial or British foreign banks; and act as agent of the government in extending financial aid to key industries. This new bank should not accept deposits at call or on short notice, and should not interfere with any business for which existing banks provided facilities. [1]

A petition, deed of settlement and charter for a British Trade Corporation were printed in the *Parliamentary Papers* for 1917. [2]

Other Board of Trade committees formed to consider after the war problems included those on Belgian trade, cotton growing within the Empire, electric power supply, prewar contracts, and trade relations after the war. [3]

Scientific and Industrial Research

In July, 1915, a scheme for the organization and development of scientific and industrial research was presented; and in accordance with this plan a Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was established, under a committee of the Privy Council, with an Advisory Council. [4]

To the new department there has been transferred from the Royal Society the property of the National Physical Laboratory; and there has been created an Imperial Trust for the encouragement of scientific and industrial research, which holds on behalf of the department the sum of £1,000,000 voted by Parliament for this purpose. The Advisory Council has recommended that this should be used as grants in aid to cooperative research associations to be formed by the firms in any industry; and progress

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1916, Cd. 8346. A later committee on financial facilities was appointed by the Ministry of Reconstruction.

[2] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8567.

[3] U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No. 54, March 6, 1918. The committee to foster British Trade with Belgium, appointed in the summer of 1917, consisted of three representatives of the Foreign Office, three of the Board of Trade, and six representing British commercial and financial interests. U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No. 208, September 6, 1917, p. 892.

[4] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1915, Cd. 8005.

has been made towards the formation of such associations, for cotton and other industries. For some fields which can not be covered by research associations, research investigations will be carried on by agencies established as part of the department, such as the Fuel Research Board. [1]

At the end of 1917, the following boards and committees had been established by the department of scientific and industrial research:

Cold Storage Research Board
Standing Committees on Engineering, Metallurgy, Mining, and Glass and Optical Instruments
Joint Standing Committee on Illuminating Engineering
Mine Rescue Apparatus Research Committee
Abrasives and Polishing Powders Research Committee
Food Research Committee
Building Materials Research Committee
Electrical Research Committee
Committee for Research on Vitrous Compounds, and Cements for Lenses and Prisms
Tin and Tungsten Research Board
Lubricants and Lubricating Inquiry Committee
Chemistry of Lubricants Subcommittee
Zinc and Copper Research and Inquiry Committee
Irish Peat Inquiry Committee
Provisional Committee on Research for the Wool and Worsted Industries
Provisional Committee for the Internal Combustion Engine Industry [2]

A report on the resources and production of iron and other metalliferous ores has been published. [3]

Overseas Trade Intelligence Department

Early in September, 1917, plans for a new Overseas Trade Intelligence Department were announced by the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office. Both of these government departments

[1] U. S. *Commerce Reports*, No. 226, September 27, 1917, p. 1172.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 54, March 6, 1918, p. 857.
[3] Report for 1916-17, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, Cd. 8718

had been considering plans for developing the official arrangements for commercial intelligence, which had hitherto been divided between them. A committee appointed in January, 1917, representing both departments, agreed that the appointment of commercial attachés in foreign countries should continue to be in the hands of the Foreign Office; but did not agree whether the collation and distribution of commercial intelligence from foreign countries should be performed by the Board of Trade or the Foreign Office. To meet this difficulty it was agreed to establish a new and enlarged joint department on commercial intelligence, under the general direction of an additional parliamentary secretary, who should represent both the Board of Trade and the Foreign Office. The new department should absorb the commercial intelligence department of the Board of Trade, and the foreign trade department of the Foreign Office; and also take over the intelligence and statistical sections of the War Trade Department. It should deal both with the commercial attachés in foreign countries, appointed by the Foreign Office, and with the trade commissioners within the Empire, appointed by the Board of Trade; and it is expected that there will be interchanges of staff between the different services. An advisory committee of business men is included in the plans for the new department.

It is expected by the coordination secured through this Overseas Trade Intelligence Department to eliminate overlapping and to secure more efficient results. [1]

Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, M.P., has been named as head of this department, which has been organized with three main divisions: an overseas division, a United Kingdom division, and an exhibitions division.

[1] Memorandum of the Board of Trade and Foreign Office, with respect to the future organization of Commercial Intelligence. *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8716; U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No. 288, September 29, 1917; No. 3, January 4, 1918; *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917,* pp. 150-151.

CHAPTER X

Agriculture and Food Control

In Former Wars

The present war has seen a vast expansion of government regulation and direct control of food supplies, far beyond that of any previous time. But it will be of interest to note briefly some examples of food regulation in previous wars, as precedents for the measures of the present contest.

In the war with Spain, in the reign of Elizabeth, the export of grain, and for a time the export of provisions, was prohibited. During the Seven Years War, in the eighteenth century, the export of grain, meal, flour, bread and starch was prohibited; and this prohibition was later extended to beef, pork, bacon and other victuals. Duties on imported grain and flour were discontinued; and the making of wines and spirits from grain was prohibited. In the war with France at the end of the eighteenth century, the export of provisions and food was restricted, and the importation of grain and provisions was encouraged; grain supplies were conserved by prohibiting its use for making wines and spirits, starch, hair powder and blue; and bakers were required to use a larger proportion of bran or to mix other grains or potatoes with wheat. [1]

Most of these measures have been repeated in the present war; and in addition many other steps have been taken, including government purchase and direct control of important articles of food, the intensive regulation of the kinds and quantities of different foods to be used, and the fixing of prices. In connection with these measures, as in dealing with other problems, many new administrative agencies and advisory committees have been established; and after a considerable period of uncertainty,

[1] See Chapter I.

and sometimes of conflict between different agencies, a more centralized system of regulation was organized under a new Ministry of Food Control.

First Measures

At the outbreak of war, the actual and anticipated shortage of food supplies led to sharp and rapid increase of prices. A Cabinet committee on food supplies was organized, with the Home Secretary as chairman. On August 5, this committee met representatives of the Grocers' Federation and companies and provided for a standing committee of these retail trades, to advise as to maximum retail prices. Lists of prices were promptly issued; and in a few days panic purchases had about ceased. The Cabinet committee also obtained returns of the stocks of all foodstuffs in the country, and made arrangements for the periodical collection of this information. [1]

There was also appointed in August, by the president of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, a consultative committee to consider matters affecting agricultural interests referred to them by the board. [2]

Still further there was organized in August a *Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement,* as the result of an agreement with the French Government, to assist in the purchase of food supplies, munitions of war, and field equipment. The scope of this commission was later extended to cover purchases for other Allied Governments. Applications for permission to export goods intended for Allied Governments were dealt with by this body, which included representatives from the Foreign Office, Admiralty, War Office, the Committee on Imperial Defense, Board of Trade, Board of Agriculture and Ministry of Munitions, with delegates from Allied Governments. [3]

Exportation of food was prohibited; and after a few months the prohibition was extended to feeding stuffs for animals. [4]

[1] *The Edinburgh Review,* vol. 463, p. 108.
[2] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 148.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 161.
[4] *The Edinburgh Review,* vol. 463.

A special problem for which more active measures seemed necessary was the supply of sugar. Two-thirds of the sugar used in Great Britain came in normal times from Germany and Austria. Arrangements were promptly made for the purchase of sugar by the government. A Royal Commission on sugar supplies was formed, "to inquire into the supply of sugar in the United Kingdom, to purchase, sell and control delivery of sugar on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and generally to take such steps as may seem desirable for maintaining the supply." [1] On the recommendation of the commission, extensive purchases (900,000 tons) of cane sugar were made at prices much higher than those obtaining before the war. In October, it was found that the government had bought at higher prices than those which subsequently ruled in the open market. The importation of sugar was then prohibited, partly to prevent the indirect purchase of enemy sugar, and partly to protect the government supply. The latter was sold to refiners at prices which protected the government from loss, and at the same time made possible reasonable retail prices.

In the light of later events, the government action seemed for a time an unfortunate speculation. But if nothing had been done the consequences might have been much more serious; and in view of the uncertainty at the commencement of the war the action taken seemed to have been warranted. [2]

The Cabinet committee on food supplies also arranged from an early period in the war, for repeated purchases of large quantities of wheat, and their gradual sale in the country. [3] In March, 1915, a committee was appointed to make arrangements, in cooperation with the government of India, for the purchase, shipment and disposal of Indian wheat. [4]

Purchases of sugar are stated to have involved an expenditure of £18,000,000; and the expenditures for the fiscal year 1914-15

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 160. This gives the date for this commission as September 11, 1914. *The Edinburgh Review* (vol. 463) gives the date as August 20.
[2] *The Political Quarterly,* i, p. 188; No. 6 (1915), p. 81.
[3] *The Times History of the War,* x, ch. 163, p. 332.
[4] *The Edinburgh Review,* vol. 463.

included a total of £28,400,000 "invested" in the purchase of wheat, meal, sugar, and certain other commodities.[1]

In April, 1915, the government decided not to make any further purchases of wheat, on the ground that these operations had had the effect of restricting neutral trade.[2]

Food Production and Food Prices Committees

On the advent of the Coalition Cabinet, another stage, involving a change of direction in government action relating to food supplies, was begun by the appointment, in June, 1915, of a series of Food Production Committees, to consider what steps should be taken for the purpose of maintaining and, if possible, increasing the production of food. The committee for England and Wales, appointed by Lord Selborne, president of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, was said to have been an exceptionally strong body of experts. It included Lord Milner, as chairman; Lord Inchape, an authority on shipping and freights; A. D. Hull, Rowland Prothero and Edward Strutt—versed in practical agricultural management and research; Charles Fielding, a business man who had made a special study of food supply; Sir H. Verney and F. D. Acland, M.P., representing the Board of Agriculture; and J. A. Seldon, representing the interests of labor. Similar committees were appointed for Scotland (8 members) and for Ireland (17 members), the latter having as chairman T. W. Russell, the well known vice president of the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.[3]

In July the committee for England and Wales presented an interim report, recommending the encouragement of wheat raising by guaranteeing a minimum price of 45 shillings a quarter for four years following the war; and that each county council should appoint a small committee for each rural district to cooperate with the Board of Agriculture in securing increased

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 6 (1915), p. 167.
[2] *The Times History of the War*, x, ch. 163, p. 332.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 131; *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 154.

acreage of land under cultivation. The final report of this committee, on October 15, 1915, dealt with the supply of fertilizers, feeding stuffs, agricultural labor and the cultivation of waste land near cities and towns. [1]

The report of the committee for Ireland favored a guaranteed minimum price for oats and wheat, for one year only; loans to small holders for implements and machinery; and the prohibition of the export of artificial manures. Sir Horace Plunkett, in a minority report, urged the need for organization. [2]

The report of the committee for Scotland did not recommend a guaranteed minimum price; but urged the importance of artificial fertilizers and the raising of more pigs and calves; dealt with the labor problem; and favored the organization of district committees of the county councils. The Scotch Board of Agriculture carried on an active campaign in support of this committee's report. [3]

After considering these reports, the government decided not to accept the proposals for guaranteeing minimum prices. Provision was made for appointing agricultural war committees by the county councils; but a systematic plan for district committees was not followed up. [4]

In July, 1915, another departmental committee of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries was appointed to consider what steps could be taken to promote the settlement and employment on the land in England and Wales of soldiers and sailors, whether disabled or otherwise, on discharge from the navy or army. This committee consisted of ten members, including two members of Parliament, with Mr. H. Hobhouse as chairman. [5]

Two reports were presented. The final report recommended government purchase and lease of land, to be rented to tenants; and that county councils should be encouraged to frame their small holdings policy on the lines of settlement in colonies. The

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Cd. 8048, 8095.
[2] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 7, p. 164.
[3] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Cd. 8046.
[4] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 7, p. 162.
[5] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 164.

majority report was averse to minimum wage legislation; and presented for consideration suggestions for: (1) a government guarantee of a minimum for wheat; (2) a government bonus for grass land brought under the plow; and (3) import duties on agricultural produce. A minority report definitely proposed minimum wages to be fixed by district boards, a guaranteed price for wheat for a period of years, and a bonus for plowing permanent pasture; and expressed doubt whether import duties alone would give the necessary security.

One writer discussing these reports pointed out the difficulties in the plans proposed, and urged the need for agricultural education. [1]

A Dominions Royal Commission issued, in 1915, a Memorandum and Tables on the Food and Raw Materials Requirements of the United Kingdom. [2]

Some other agencies for dealing with agricultural problems other than food supplies may also be noted. A Forage Committee was established to advise upon the purchase of farm produce for the army. In August, 1915, another committee was appointed by the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, to consider and advise what steps should be taken to secure the production and maintenance of a supply of horses suitable and sufficient for military purposes, especially on mobilization. [3]

At the end of 1915, arrangements were again made for the accumulation of certain food supplies. By agreement with the French and Italian Governments a joint international committee was organized for the purchase of wheat, flour and maize for the three governments; and this committee began operations in January, 1916. Lord Crawford was chairman of the British committee, which had power to purchase, sell and control the delivery of wheat and flour in the United Kingdom, and to take steps for maintaining the supply. [4]

Towards the end of 1915, there had also been adopted a sys-

[1] *The Political Quarterly*, No. 8 (1916), pp. 146-153.
[2] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1915, Cd. 8123.
[3] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 154.
[4] *The Times History of the War*, x, ch. 163.

tem of requisitioning ships for the carriage of foodstuffs, through the Ships Requisitioning (Carriage of Foodstuffs) Committee and the Ship Licensing Committee. [1]

A Food Prices Committee was appointed at the Board of Trade, in June, 1916, to investigate the principal causes which had led to the increase of prices of commodities of general consumption since the beginning of the war, and to recommend such steps, if any, with a view to ameliorating the situation as appear practical and expedient, having regard to the necessity of maintaining adequate supplies. This committee consisted of 12 members, with Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., as chairman, and Professor W. J. Ashley of the University of Birmingham as one of the members. Referring to the report of this committee in the House of Commons, Mr. Runciman, president of the Board of Trade, stated that there was no evidence of exploitation. [2]

An agricultural policy subcommittee of the Committee on Reconstruction was appointed in August, 1916, to consider and report upon the methods of effecting an increase in the home grown food supplies, having regard to the need of such increase in the interest of national security. This subcommittee consisted of fifteen members, with Lord Selborne as chairman. [3]

A Wheat Supplies Royal Commission was appointed on October 10, 1916, to inquire into the supply of wheat and flour in the United Kingdom; to purchase, sell and control the delivery of wheat and flour on behalf of His Majesty's government; and generally to take such steps as may seem desirable for maintaining the supply. Lord Crawford, then president of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, was chairman of this commission, which took over the function of the grain supplies committee, and early in January, 1917, took control of the maize trade in the United Kingdom. Later its activities were extended to include barley, rice, oatmeal, corn flour, lentils, beans and peas. [4]

[1] *The Edinburgh Review*, vol. 463.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 153; *The Times History of the War*, x, ch. 163.
[3] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, Cd. 8506.
[4] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 164; First Report of the Committee on National Expenditure, 1917.

The Food Prices Committee presented an interim report in September, 1916, on the prices of meat, milk and bacon; a second interim report, on November 15, on the prices of bread, flour and wheat, and freight charges; and a third and final report on December 30, on the prices of potatoes, tea and sugar. None of these reports were published until 1917. The first report presented a series of recommendations relating to shipping, more labor for transportation, restrictions on imports and economy in the use of foods; and seven members signed an additional recommendation in favor of government control of prices for home grown supplies. The second report included a recommendation that the government should fix a *maximum* price for wheat; and five members recommended also an increase of ten per cent in the amount of flour made from wheat. As the Food Controller had been appointed before the third report was made, no general recommendations were made in that document. [1]

A committee of the Royal Society prepared, at the request of the president of the Board of Trade, a report on the food supply of the United Kingdom. This committee included representatives of the Board of Trade and Board of Agriculture, and several professors of physiology, biochemistry and agriculture, with A. D. Wallace, professor of physiology at the University of London as chairman. [2]

It may be noted that the various bodies appointed up to this time to deal with agricultural and food supply questions originated in several sources, and represented a variety of interests not likely to be always in agreement. The original Cabinet committee on food supplies appears to have ceased its activities. The other agencies set up included several departmental committees, connected with the Board of Trade and the agricultural departments; two Royal commissions; and two international committees. While in some cases distinguishable problems were given to different agencies; in other cases there is distinct evidence of overlapping jurisdiction; and no provision appears to

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8358, 8483.
[2] *Ibid.,* 1917, Cd. 8421.

have been made for coordinating the work of the several agencies, nor for any comprehensive consideration of the interrelation of the problem of production, supplies, consumption and prices.

Some indications also appear of the influence of different political factors. With the formation of the Coalition Cabinet, some new lines of policy were started; but the difficulty of harmonizing the conflicting traditions in the membership of that composite body may account for the failure to develop a consistent plan of action. It may be surmised that the Unionists were more readily disposed to a policy of increasing governmental authority, but that the old school Liberals were more hesitant about embarking on schemes of aggressive action which involved further restrictions on the freedom of the individual.

The Food Controller

On November 15, 1916, the president of the Board of Trade (Mr. Runciman) announced the forthcoming appointment of a Food Controller, and the issue of new food regulations under the Defense of the Realm Act. Shortly afterwards, new food regulations and orders were issued by the Board of Trade. These required millers to extract a higher percentage of flour from wheat; prohibited the use of wheat in brewing; fixed a maximum price for milk; and restricted the number of courses to be served at meals at public eating places. But the announcement of a Food Controller seems to have been made without the consent of the Prime Minister; and no appointment was made until the formation of the new Lloyd George Ministry in December, when Lord Devonport was named for this position.[1]

The New Ministries and Secretaries Act, passed on December 20,[2] provided for a Minister of Food, under the title of Food Controller. It was made the duty of this official: "to regulate the supply and consumption of food in such manner as he thinks best for maintaining a proper supply of food, and to take such

[1] *The Times History of the War*, x, ch. 163, p. 333; *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 463; S. R. O. 56, December 5, 1916.
[2] 6 and 7 Geo. V, ch. 68.

steps as he thinks best for encouraging the production of food." For these purposes he shall have the powers and duties of any government department or authority, whether conferred by statute or otherwise, as may by Order in Council be transferred or vested concurrently with the department or authority concerned, and such further powers as may be conferred by regulations under the Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act, 1914.

The act contained the customary provisions about officers and expenses; the seal, style and acts of the Minister; seat in the House of Commons; and also provided that the Ministry should cease twelve months after the war, or earlier by Order in Council.

It will be noted that this act left the powers and duties of the Food Controller to be determined by Order in Council. These were formulated by additional Defense of the Realm Regulations, amended from time to time, vesting the Food Controller with power: (1) as to maintenance of food supplies; (2) to require returns; (3) to take possession of factories or premises in which food is manufactured; (4) to make inquiries; and (5) supplemental provisions. Other regulations were also adopted extending the powers of the Board of Trade as to articles other than food; and the powers of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries to enter on and cultivate land for the maintenance of food supply, and reducing the acreage for the cultivation of hops.[1]

Under these regulations the Food Controller undertook a census of stocks of foods on hand and to estimate the visible supply of important commodities; and the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries began a survey of the uncultivated land. These measures were followed by a long series of orders relating to specific commodities—in some cases making inquiries, in others imposing restrictions on use, fixing prices, or requisitioning stocks. Thus in January further restrictions were placed on the milling of wheat flour, requiring a minimum of 81 per cent of flour to be extracted from wheat, and providing for the addition of other

[1] Defense of the Realm Regulations, 2 F to 2 T.

grains. Restrictions were also imposed on the use of sugar. Maximum prices were fixed for potatoes and milk, and later for wheat, barley and oats. In February a system of voluntary rationing in the use of bread, meat and sugar was inaugurated. At the end of April the government took over all the flour mills in the United Kingdom and a Mills Control Committee was appointed. [1]

Even with these measures, the shortage of some staples,—notably sugar, potatoes and margarine—caused a good deal of inconvenience in the spring of 1917. Lines of purchasers formed in front of dealers' premises to secure limited allowances.

Early in 1917, a Director General of Food Economy was appointed; and a comprehensive canvass of the people was organized, by means of war savings committees in all parts of the country. On May 2, a Royal Proclamation was issued urging economy and frugality in the use of food supplies. But these measures did not result in any great saving. [2]

In June, Lord Devonport resigned as Food Controller, on account of ill health; and this place was accepted by Lord Rhondda, who was transferred from the Local Government Board; J. B. Clynes, a Labor member, was appointed parliamentary secretary. Lord Rhondda increased largely the staff and organization of the Food Ministry; and under enlarged powers he extended still further the number and scope of food orders. During 1917, 180 orders and general licenses were issued. An accountancy branch was organized to determine, by examining traders' books, costs and the cause of increased prices. New orders were issued fixing maximum prices and restricting the profits of producers and dealers. The price of bread was kept down by a subsidy; and the government also made up the difference between prices on potatoes guaranteed to farmers and maximum prices for sales. In cooperation with the Food Controllers in Canada and the United States all imports of foodstuffs were brought under control. The distribution of sugar supplies was improved.

[1] H. L. Gray: *War Time Control of Industry,* p. 213.
[2] *The Times History of the War,* xii, ch. 192, pp. 441-442; xv, ch. 229.

Great Britain was apportioned into sixteen food divisions, for each of which a commissioner was appointed by the Food Controller. Local authorities established food control committees (about 1,900 committees), each of which included representatives of labor, women and the cooperative movement. These committees were responsible for the local enforcement of food orders. Supplies were commandeered and redistributed by local committees. In the latter part of 1917, compulsory rationing of some commodities was introduced in certain sections. On January 1, 1918, a general scheme of compulsory rationing for sugar was begun; and was extended in April to meat. [1]

Some criticism has been made of the general policy of the food administration, as tending to place foremost the reduction of prices, the regulation of distribution and the restriction of consumption, and subordinating to these the maintenance of supplies. It has been claimed that in some cases the control of prices led foreign dealers to reduce the amounts shipped, especially in the case of American bacon. Direct efforts to stimulate home production appear to have been left to the agricultural departments. [2]

Indeed, there seems to be an almost inevitable conflict between the policies of the different departments. On the one side was the repeated demand for guaranteed minimum prices to stimulate production. On the other side, a continued effort by fixing maximum prices to keep down the cost to the consuming classes. It may be questioned whether a more coherent and consistent policy might not have been developed if the different phases of the food supply problem had been combined in one department instead of setting up an additional ministry alongside of the three existing agricultural departments. It has also been suggested that an extension of the excess profits tax to intercept high profits might have been more successful than the detailed regulation of prices.

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 178-181.
[2] *The Edinburgh Review*, vol. 463.

Home Production

Some measures taken to increase the home production of food supplies may be noted.

A Food Production Department was established in January, 1917; and advisory committees to the agricultural departments on food production were appointed in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. On January 30, 1917, the agricultural policy subcommittee of the Committee on Reconstruction (appointed in August, 1916) submitted an interim report. This favored the establishment of minimum wages by means of county wage boards and guaranteed minimum prices for wheat and oats. The probable effect of guaranteed prices on rents was considered. One member of the committee (Sir Matthew Wallace) dissented on the proposal for guaranteed prices.

In April, 1917, a committee on the production and distribution of milk was appointed by the president of the Board of Agriculture, with the concurrence of the Food Controller, consisting of eight members, with William Astor as chairman. This submitted an interim report on June 8, 1917.[1]

In the spring of 1917 the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries took steps, through the local authorities, to secure the cultivation of unused land, both by farmers on a large scale and by townspeople in small gardens. War agricultural executive committees of not more than seven members were set up in every county in Great Britain, appointed by previously existing county war agricultural committees. Subcommittees and district committees were also formed, and district commissioners in charge of two or more counties. These measures added substantially to the supply, especially of potatoes and other vegetables; and conditions were materially improved early in the summer.[2]

A corn production bill was introduced in Parliament, and was read a second time on April 25—the Liberal members largely abstaining from voting. This provided for guaranteed mini-

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, Cd. 8506, 8608.
[2] *The Times History of the War*, xii, ch. 192, pp. 443-444; *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*.

mum prices on wheat and oats for five years, for minimum wages, for the regulation of arrangements between landords and tenants, with powers of entry upon land to secure better cultivation. This bill was read a third time in the House of Commons and passed, on August 7, by a vote of 108 ayes to 14 noes.

During the year 1917, also, more effective coordination was secured between the War Office and the Department of Agriculture, in connection with farm labor.

Other Committees

In addition to those already mentioned, the following committees on food and other agricultural supplies have been created. Most of these in this list appear to have been connected with the new Food Ministry.

British Supplies Advisory Committee
Cattle (British), Committee on Utilization of
Cotton Growing in the British Empire, Committee on
Fish (Coarse) Irish Committee
Fish (Cured) Committee
Fish Food and Motor Loan Committee
Fish Food Committee
Fish (Freshwater) Committee
Fish (Tinned) Imports Committee
Fisheries, Sea (Scottish), Committee
Food Production Advisory Committee
Food Production in Ireland Advisory Committee [1]
Food Production in Ireland Departmental Committee [1]
Fruits (Import Licenses) Committee
Grain and Potato Crops (1917) Committee
Grain Supplies Committee
Hops Control Committee
Horse Breeding Committee No. 2
Horses (Utilization and Feeding of) Committee
Kitchen (Central) Committee
Meat Committee
Meat Supplies Interdepartmental Committee

[1] Connected with the Irish Department of Agriculture.

Oats Control Committee
Oranges, Advisory Committee on Imports
Pig Breeding Industry (Ireland) Departmental Committee [1]
Poultry Advisory Committee
Rationing Consultative Committee
Spirits and Wine, Delivery of from Bond, Committee
Tea Advisory Committee
Tea Control Committee
Wheat Executive

Food Orders

S.R.O.		
50	Seed Potatoes (Growers Prices) Order	Jan. 19, 1917
51	Barley and Malt (Returns) Order	Jan. 26, 1917
53	Potatoes (Growers Returns) Order	Nov. 21, 1916
54	Waste of Wheat Order	Nov. 25, 1916
56	Regulation of Meals Order	Dec. 5, 1916
59	Seed Potatoes Order	Dec. 14, 1916
60	Potatoes (Ireland) Order	Dec. 18, 1916
62	Manufacture of Flour and Bread Order	Jan. 11, 1917
63	Oats (Export from Ireland) Order	Jan. 11
64	Milk (Use in Chocolate) Order	Jan. 11
65	Sugar in Confectionery Order	Jan. 11
66	Feeding of Game Order	Jan. 11
67	Wheat (Restriction) Order	Jan. 11
68	Price of Milk Order	Jan. 26
89	Potatoes 1916 Main Crop (Prices) Order	Feb. 1
90	Brewers' Sugar Order	Feb. 8
131	Dealings in Sugar (Restrictive) Order	Feb. 8
132	Brewers' (Malt Purchases) Order	Feb. 3
159	Malt (Restriction) Order	Feb. 20
178	Potatoes 1916 Main Crop (Prices) Order	Feb. 24
179	Seed Potatoes (Prices) Order	Feb. 24
187	Manufacture of Flour and Bread Order	Feb. 24
189	Bread Order	Feb. 26
251	Freshwater Fish Order	Mch. 16
259	Malt (Restriction on Shipping) Order	Mch. 21
260	Swedes (Prices) Order	Mch. 21
261	Food (Conditions of Sale) Order	Mch. 21
266	Oats and Potatoes (Ireland) Order	Mch. 28

[1] Connected with the Irish Department of Agriculture.

S.R.O.		
270	Intoxicating Liquors (Output and Delivery) Order	Mch. 29
281	Amending 252. (Sugar Restriction Order)	Mch. 16
295	Seed Potatoes (Prices) Order No. 2	Apr. 3
314	Public Meals Order	Apr. 4
315	Manufacture of Flour and Bread Order No. 3	Apr. 4
317	Food Hoarding Order	Apr. 5
318	Tea (Net Weight) Order	Apr. 5
345	Malt (Restriction) No. 2 Order	Apr. 12
363	Wheat, Barley and Oats (Prices) Order	Apr. 16
364	Barley (Requisition) Order	Apr. 16
372	Cake and Pastry Order	Apr. 18
376	Wheat, Rye and Rice (Restriction) Order	Apr. 24
377	Flour Mills Order	Apr. 24
387	Freshwater Fish (Ireland) Order	Apr. 25
402	Seed Potatoes (Prices) Order No. 3	Apr. 30
404	Maize, Barley and Oats (Restriction) Order	May 2
...	Burmah Peas and Beans	May 1
424	Local authorities—Prosecution of offenses	May 8
429	Oats and Maize Products (Retail Prices) Order	May 9
439	Horses (Rationing) Order	May 11
444	Dealings in Oats (Restriction) Order	May 14
445	Amending 314 (Public Meals Order) No. 2	May 15
457	Beans, Peas and Pulse (Requisition) Order	May 16
458	Amending 252 and 281 (Sugar Restriction Order)	
482	Oats and Maize Products (Retail Prices) Order No. 2	May 22
483	Bread Order	May 23
510	Cheese (Requisition) Order	May 29
520	Meat (Sales) Order	May 31
537	Sugar (Domestic Preserving) Order	June 11
538	Inspectors of Weights and Measures	June 11
613	Oats (Export from Ireland) Order No. 2	June 29

S.R.O.		
664	Amending 314 (Public Meals Order) No. 3	July 3
673	Beans, Peas and Pulse (Retail Prices) Order	July 4
694	Stone Fruit (Jam Mfrs.' Prices) Order	July 6
700	Intoxicating Liquor (Output and Delivery) Order No. 2	July 7
702	Raspberries (Jam Mfrs.' Prices) Order	July 10
703	Raspberries (Scotland) Delivery Order	July 10
721	1917 Crop (Restriction) Order	July 13
766	Winter Beans Order	July 27
767	Cattle and Meat (Returns) Order	July 28
768	Sea Fishing (England and Wales) Order	July 30
769	Fisheries (Ireland) Order	July 30
770	Pickled Herring (Returns) Order	July 31
774	Flour Mills Order No. 2	July 31
776	Milk (Returns) Order	July 31
821	Barley (Restriction) Order	Aug. 15
822	Winter Oats and Rye (Restriction) Order	Aug. 14
823	Peas, Beans and Pulse (Retail Prices) Order	Aug. 14
824	Jam (Prices) Order	Aug. 15
863	Tea (Returns) Order	Aug. 20
868	Apricot Pulp and Bitter Oranges Order	Aug. 21
869	Food Control Committees Order [to be appointed by each local authority]	Aug. 22
903	Meat (Maximum Prices) Order	Aug. 29
910	Bacon, Ham and Lard (Maximum Prices) Order	Aug. 30
911	Cheese (Maximum Prices) Order	Aug. 31
...	Oats and Maize Products (Retail Prices) Order No. 2	
913	Butter (Maximum Prices) Order	Aug. 31
914	Hops (Restriction) Order	Aug. 31
	as amended by Order No. 2	Sept. 3
915	Sea Fishing (Ireland) Order	Aug. 31
935	Seed Potatoes (Immune Varieties) Order	Sept. 5
937	Flour and Bread (Prices) Order	Sept. 6
939	Milk (Prices) Order	Sept. 7
940	Dried Fruits (Restriction) Order	Sept. 8

S.R.O.		
943	Amending 903—Meat (Maximum Prices) Order No. 2	Sept. 11
949	Potatoes Order	Sept. 13
954	Horses (Rationing) Order No. 2	Sept. 26
964	Pickled Herring Order	Sept. 20
965	Butter (Maximum Prices) Order No. 2	Sept. 20
974	Bacon, Ham and Lard (Maximum Prices) Order	Sept. 21
998	Potatoes (Postponement of Date) Order	Sept. 27
1002	Lard (Returns) Order	Sept. 29
1005	Cheese (Maximum Prices) Order No. 2	Oct. 1
1006	Wheat (Channel Islands and Isle of Man Export) Order	Oct. 1
1009	Butter (Maximum Prices) Order No. 3	Oct. 2
1025	Bread (Use of Potatoes) Order	Oct. 5
1029	Milk Order	Oct. 8
1030	Public Meals Order	Oct. 8
1032	Dried Fruits (Restriction) Order	Oct. 10
1033	Sea Fishing (Scotland) Order	Oct. 10
1048	Flour and Bread (Prices) Order	Oct. 12
1049	Sugar Order	Oct. 12
1051	Potato Bugs (Returns) Order	Oct. 13
1053	Currants and Sultanas (Requisition) Order	Oct. 13
1058	Beer (Prices and Description) Order	Oct. 15
1059	Intoxicating Liquor (Output and Delivery) Order No. 3	Oct. 15
1062	Bacon, Ham and Lard (Maximum Prices) Order	Oct. 17
1063	Tea (Provisional Prices) Order	Oct. 17
1065	Jam (Prices) Order	Oct. 16
1072	Sugar (Sales for Ireland) Order	Oct. 20
1081	Milk Factories (Restriction) Order	Oct. 24
1093	Butter (Maximum Prices) Order No. 4	Oct. 26
1100	Potatoes Order	Oct. 30
1101	Potatoes (Growers Returns) Order	Oct. 30
1105	British Cheese Order	Oct. 31
1106	Order Revoking Winter Bean Order and Winter Oats and Rye (Restriction) Order	

S.R.O.		
1107	Cattle Feeding Cake and Meal and Millers' Offals (Maximum Prices) Order	Nov. 1
1110	Butter (Maximum Prices) (Amendment) Order	Oct. 31
1122	Butter (Maximum Prices) Order (No. 5)	Nov. 3
1123	Bacon, Ham and Lard (Maximum Prices) Order	Nov. 6
1124	Pigs (Maximum Prices) Order	Nov. 6
1130	Enforcement (England and Wales) Order	Nov. 19
1134	Oil Splitting Order	Nov. 9
1135	Sugar and Confectionery Order	Nov. 9
1138	Food Control Committee for Ireland (Powers) Order	
1140	Sugar Order	Nov. 8
1155	Seed Potatoes (1917 Crop) Order	Nov. 12
1156	Testing of Seeds Order	Nov. 12
1157	Oats Products (Retail Prices) Order	Nov. 10
1160	Food Control Committee for Ireland (Constitution) Order	Nov. 7
1162	Margarine (Maximum Prices) Order	Nov. 10
1163	Butter (Distribution) Order	Nov. 14
1170	Potatoes Order	Nov. 8
1173	Horse and Poultry Mixtures Order	Nov. 17
1174	Damaged Grain, Seeds and Pulse (Prices) Order	Nov. 17
1180	Bacon, Ham and Lard (Provisional Prices) Order	Nov. 17
1181	Potatoes Order, General License	Nov. 17
1182	Dredge Corn Order	Nov. 17
1185	Sugar (Brewers Restriction) Order	Nov. 19
1186	Food Control Committees (Milk Requisition) Order	Nov. 19
1188	Potatoes Order (No. 2)	Nov. 19
1189	Food Control Committees (Scotland) Powers Order	Nov. 20
1192	Cream Order	Nov. 20
1193	Pigs (Maximum Prices) Order	Nov. 20
1199	Potatoes Order	Nov. 23

S.R.O.		
1200	Oats Products (Postponement of Date) Order	Nov. 24
1201	Bacon, Ham and Lard (Distribution) Order	Nov. 24
1203	Meat (Control) Order	Nov. 27
1213	Intoxicating Liquors (Output and Delivery) Order No. 4	Nov. 28
1219	Manufacture of Flour and Bread Order (No. 2)	Nov. 27
1220	Dried Fruits (Restriction) Order	Nov. 28
1224	Oils, Oil Cakes and Meals (Requisition) Order	Nov. 28
1225	Hardened Fat (Requisition) Order	Nov. 28
1226	Seeds, Nuts and Kernels (Requisition) Order	Nov. 29
1227	Milk (Ireland) Order	Nov. 28
1228	Coffee (Retail Prices) Order	Dec. 1
1233	Ships' Stores Order	Dec. 5
1246	Bread (Use of Potatoes) Order No. 2	Dec. 8
1247	Dutch Cheese (Prices) Order	Dec. 8
1248	Pigs (Maximum Prices) Order	Dec. 10
1256	Sugar Order No. 2	Dec. 11
1257	Potatoes Order	Dec. 11
1259	Meat (Restriction of Retail Sales) Order	Dec. 11
1292	Bacon, Ham and Lard (Provisional Prices) Order	Dec. 13
1295	Tea (Provisional Prices) Order No. 2	Dec. 14
1296	Milk (Use in Chocolate) Order No. 2	Dec. 14
1297	Condensed Milk (Returns) Order	Dec. 14
1298	Food Control Committees (Audit of Accounts) Order	Dec. 14
1299	Live Stock (Restriction of Slaughter) Order	Dec. 14
1305	Raw Coffee (Returns) Order	Dec. 18
1310	Food Control Committees (Margarine Requisition) Order	Dec. 20
1311	Oils and Fats (Requisition) Order	Dec. 21
1312	Sugar (Brewers Restriction) Order No. 2	Dec. 21
1313	Bacon and Ham Curers (Returns) Order	Dec. 21
1314	Refined Vegetable Oils (Requisition) Order	Dec. 21

S.R.O.		
1316	Cattle Feeding Stuffs (Committees) Order 5 Permanent Feeding Stuffs Committees 35 Provisional Feeding Stuffs Committees (28 England and Wales, 7 Scotland)	Dec. 21
1318	Meat (Maximum Prices) Order No. 3	Dec. 22
1319	British Cheese Order	Dec. 21
1325	Food Control Committees (Local Distribution) Order Oats Products (Retail Prices) Order No. 1157, as amended by Nos. 1200 and 1328	Dec. 22
1350	Ice Cream (Restriction) Order	Dec. 29
1353	Sugar (Rationing) Order	Dec. 31
1368	Meat (Maximum Prices) Order	Dec. 24
1	Ice Cream (Restriction) Order	Jan. 2, 1918
2	Committees (Disqualification for Membership) Order	Jan. 2
5	Butter (Ireland) Order	Jan. 3
8	Sugar Order, 1917, General License	Jan. 4
9	Rabbits (Prices) Order	Jan. 4
12	Whiskey (Restriction on Sales) Order	Jan. 5
14	Bread (Use of Potatoes) Order	Jan. 8
20	Flour and Bread (Prices) Order, 1917	Jan. 9
21	Wheat (Seed) Order	Jan. 10
22	Deer (Restriction of Feeding) Order	Jan. 14
32	Meat (Maximum Prices) Order, 1917	Jan. 14
33	Dutch Cheese (Prices) Order, 1917	Jan. 14
34	Live Stock (Restriction of Slaughter) Order, 1917	Jan. 12

CHAPTER XI

Financial Administration

Financial problems arising out of the war have not only involved an undreamed of expansion in the scale of the fiscal affairs of the government, with radical changes in methods; but have also led to far-reaching and in many respects novel steps for dealing with the financial transactions of the business world and private individuals. At the outbreak of the war, the emergency measures for preventing a complete breakdown in the financial machinery of trade and business were indeed more striking and of more significance than the early steps for meeting the fiscal needs of the government.

One of the first measures taken was the formation of a general committee to assist the government in financial matters. This committee included Austen Chamberlain and Lord St. Aldwyn (former Chancellors of the Exchequer), Lord Revelstoke, the Governor of the Bank of England, the Lord Chief Justice of England and Sir John Bradbury.[1]

Regulation of Private Transactions

On Saturday, July 31, 1914, the London Stock Exchange was closed; and the rate of bank discount was doubled, from 4 to 8 per cent, and later increased to 10 per cent. August 2 was a bank holiday, and this was extended for three days. On August 2 a moratorium was declared by a Royal Proclamation postponing for one month the payment of certain bills of exchange. An Act of Parliament, passed on the 3d, confirmed this proclamation, and authorized the postponement by Royal Proclamation of the payment of bills of exchange and other obligations " for such

[1] *The Times History of the War,* vii, ch. 114, p. 238.

time and subject to such conditions or other provisions as may be specified in the proclamation." [1]

Under this act a proclamation was issued on August 6, extending the moratorium of August 2 to certain other payments. Further proclamations were issued on August 12, and on September 1, 3 and 30, extending and varying the provisions of the moratorium, the last of these providing that the moratorium should end on November 4. [2]

A Currency and Bank Notes Act was passed on August 6, authorizing the issue by the Treasury of currency notes for one pound and ten shillings, and the issue by the Bank of England and Scotch and Irish banks of notes in excess of the former limit, and making bank notes in Scotland and Ireland legal tender. [3]

Arrangements were made for issuing currency notes through the Bank of England, as and when required, to a maximum limit not exceeding 20 per cent of the liabilities of any bank on deposit and current accounts. In Scotland and Ireland currency notes were issued as cover for bank notes. By January, 1915, £37,000,000 in notes had been issued; and gold had almost disappeared from circulation. [4]

The volume of currency notes has continued to show a marked increase. Bank of England notes in circulation also show a moderate increase, the additional issues being fully secured by metallic reserve. The following table shows the currency notes and Bank of England notes at the dates named. [5]

	Currency Notes Outstanding	Bank of England Notes in Circulation
July 29, 1914	.....	£29,706,350
August 26, 1914	£ 21,535,065	35,571,435
December 30, 1914	38,478,164	36,139,180
December 29, 1915	103,125,099	35,309,255
December 27, 1916	150,144,177	39,675,535
December 26, 1917	212,782,295	45,943,966
February 20, 1918	216,134,893	46,207,340

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* pp. 235, 238; 4 and 5 Geo. V, ch. 11.
[2] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* pp. 239-247.
[3] 4 and 5 Geo. V, chs. 14, 72.
[4] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1914, No. 457; *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* p. 136; *The Times History of the War,* vii, ch. 114, p. 264.
[5] *The Economic World,* n.s., xv, 593 (April 27, 1918).

On August 12, 1914, notice was given of an arrangement between the government and the Bank of England, under which the government guaranteed the bank from loss in discounting bills of exchange accepted by British houses prior to August 4. It was estimated that bills of exchange were in circulation amounting to between £350,000,000 and £500,000,000; and under the above arrangement bills amounting to £120,000,000 were discounted. [1]

As a preliminary to the termination of the general moratorium an act was passed on August 31, 1914, giving emergency powers to the courts to protect debtors from hardships attributable to the war. Under this act the execution of judgments, the foreclosure of mortgages and the lapsing of certain life and endowment insurance policies and other debts could be enforced only after application to the court, which had power to stay execution or defer the operation of remedies for such time and subject to such conditions as the court might see fit. [2]

More direct assistance to exporters was provided by the appointment, on November 4, 1914, of a Foreign Trade Debts Committee, to authorize advances in approved cases to British traders carrying on export business in respect of debts outstanding in foreign countries and the colonies. This committee had six members, representatives of the Treasury, the Bank of England, the joint stock banks, and the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom. [3]

On October 31, 1914, the Treasury announced its approval of a scheme for government advances to lenders on stock exchange securities (other than banks to which currency facilities were open) up to 60 per cent of the value of their securities, on condition that they would not press for repayment of their loans until after the war. [4]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1914, No. 457; *The Times History of the War,* vii, ch. 114, p. 239.

[2] 4 and 5 Geo. V, ch. 78; *The Political Quarterly,* i, 165.

[3] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 162; *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Financial Edition, June, 1915, p. 48.

[4] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 2, p. 181; Supplement No. 3, p. 527.

An Act of Parliament, of November 27, 1914, authorized payments with respect to various obligations of the government in connection with the war—including guarantees and advances on bills of exchange, advances on loans to members of the stock exchange, payments on contracts of insurance, loans raised by the Allies or British dominions or possessions, and the maintenance of food supply, business or communications. [1]

In December, 1914, the Treasury approved the reopening of the stock exchange, from January 4, 1915, subject to certain restrictions, set forth in Temporary Regulations. The objects of the restrictions were: (*a*) to safeguard the London market against forced realization of securities and against operations for the purpose of depressing prices; and (*b*) to close the market absolutely to the enemy both directly and indirectly. Many of the transactions which the rules were designed to prevent were illegal under the Trading with the Enemy Acts and proclamations and at common law. [2]

On January 19, 1918, a Treasury announcement was made that fresh issues of capital would be subject to approval by the Treasury before they are made, under the following general conditions: New issues for undertakings in the United Kingdom to be allowed only where it is shown that they are advisable in the national interest; those for undertakings in the British Empire overseas to be allowed only where urgent necessity and special circumstances exist; and those for undertakings outside the British Empire not to be allowed. [3]

Announcement was made on January 27 of the appointment by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of a committee to consider and advise upon applications received by the Treasury for approval of fresh issues of capital. This committee, as first appointed, consisted of Lord St. Aldwyn, chairman, Lord Cunliffe, the Governor of the Bank of England, Sir Frederick G. Ban-

[1] 5 Geo. V, ch. 11.
[2] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 3, p. 533.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 404.

bury, M.P., Sir Thomas P. Whittaker, M.P., and Mr. G. Stapleton Barnes—of the Board of Trade. [1]

Notice was given that Treasury approval was required for capital issues by a government, municipality or other public body, as well as companies. But on March 25, 1915, a circular letter of the Local Government Board announced that to avoid duplication of labor it had been arranged that the approval of that body for loans by local authorities under powers conferred by public general acts or by local acts or provisional orders should suffice without further approval by the Treasury. [2]

An Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest (War Restrictions) Act, passed in 1915, made irrecoverable any increase in rent (with some exceptions, as where a landlord had incurred expenditures on improvements), or in interest on mortgages; and prohibited orders for recovery or ejectment, as long as the tenant complied with the agreement, or calling in mortgages except under special circumstances.

An amendment to the Courts (Emergency Powers) Act, enacted on May 17, 1916, aimed to protect the financial affairs of officers and men in the British forces. Under this no execution or other enforcement of judgment can be had against any officer or man in the British forces for money due and payable in pursuance of a contract except by special permission of a competent court, which has absolute discretion to stay the execution.

Another Courts (Emergency Powers) Act No. 2, passed in 1917, broadened the general scope of the act of 1914, and aimed to prevent some hardships. [3]

Fiscal Transactions

Votes of Credit

The war began when the regular session of Parliament for the year 1914 was about to close, with the usual financial measures for the fiscal year practically completed. To meet the ex-

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation,* Supplement No. 3, p. 405.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 406.
[3] 6 and 7 Geo. V, chs. 13, 18; 7 and 8 Geo. V.

traordinary expenditures of the war, resort was at once made to a vote of credit, based on a lump sum estimate; and this procedure has been followed at intervals of a few months. The form of these votes of credit may be indicated by quoting in full the first vote, passed August 5, 1914:

> That a sum not exceeding one hundred million pounds be granted to His Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending the 31st of March, 1915, for all measures which may be taken for the Security of the Country; for the conduct of Naval and Military Operations; for assisting the Food Supply; for promoting the Continuance of Trade, Industry, Business and Communications, whether by means of insurance or indemnity against risk or otherwise; for the Relief of Distress; and generally for all expenses arising out of the existence of a state of war.

In the Appropriation Act of 1916, there was added to the list of purposes for which the vote was made, "the financing of the purchase and resale of foodstuffs and materials."

Votes of credit had been used in previous wars—the last preceding vote having been adopted in 1885. The South African war was financed on votes based on supplementary estimates.

A Treasury minute of August 20, 1914, referred to the nature of a vote of credit, as described in a former Treasury minute of February 1, 1880, and laid down certain rules for expenditures. A vote of credit is not, like a vote of supply, made to the army or navy or any of the spending departments, but is made to the Treasury, which thus has general supervision of the expenditures. Rules governing expenditures required the civil service departments to earmark expenditures from votes of credit, so as to distinguish them from expenditures from supply; but this did not apply to the War Office and the Admiralty. A letter from the War Office of August 14, 1914, related to accounting for war expenditures.[1]

For the fiscal year 1914-15 the expenditures from votes of credit for the army and navy, as for other departments, were in addition to the ordinary grants of supply previously made. But

[1] *Manual of Emergency Legislation*, pp. 396-401.

beginning with the year 1915-16, the army and navy estimates were absorbed in the votes of credit, with only token votes of £1,000 or £100 for each vote of supply. This was a departure from former practice, where votes of credit had been in addition to the ordinary grants based on peace expenditures. The usual itemized estimates and votes of supply have, however, been continued for the ordinary expenses of the civil service and revenue departments.

The following table shows the different votes of credit passed by Parliament since the beginning of the war:[1]

1. August 6, 1914	£100,000,000	
2. November 15, 1914	225,000,000	
3. March 1, 1915	37,000,000	
Total for 1914-15		£362,000,000
4. March 1, 1915	£250,000,000	
5. June 15, 1915	250,000,000	
6. July 20, 1915	150,000,000	
7. September 15, 1915	250,000,000	
8. November 11, 1915	400,000,000	
9. February 22, 1916	120,000,000	
Total for 1915-16		£1,420,000,000
10. February 21, 1916	£300,000,000	
11. May 23, 1916	300,000,000	
12. July 24, 1916	450,000,000	
13. October 11, 1916	300,000,000	
14. December 14, 1916	400,000,000	
15. February 12, 1917	200,000,000	
16. March 15, 1917	60,000,000	
Total for 1916-17		£2,010,000,000
17. February 12, 1917	£350,000,000	
18. May 9, 1917	500,000,000	
19. July 24, 1917	650,000,000	
20. October 30, 1917	400,000,000	
21. December 15, 1917	550,000,000	
Total for 1917-18		£2,450,000,000

[1] *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1918, p. 701.

War Loans

To provide the funds authorized by the votes of credit and to meet expenditures, loans were made from the beginning of the war; and while large increases have been made in tax revenues, about three-fourths of the expenditures during the war have been met by means of loans.

As the first measures Treasury bills were issued, and advances were also secured from the Bank of England; and such temporary measures have been continued, in the intervals between the loans for longer periods. The first of the larger war loans made in November, 1914, was for £350,000,000, at 3½ per cent, issued at 95. Subscriptions up to the end of the fiscal year (March 31, 1915) yielded £290,000,000. In addition 3 per cent five year Exchequer bonds were sold to the amount of nearly £48,000,000; while the net receipts from Treasury bills and miscellaneous borrowings amounted to about £220,000,000, making a total of war loans for the year 1914-15 of £566,000,000.

In June, 1915, a second war loan of £600,000,000 at 4½ per cent was offered; and in September of the same year an Anglo-French loan of $500,000,000 at 5 per cent was arranged for in the United States. Including Treasury bills, Exchequer bonds (at 3 and 5 per cent) and other borrowings, the total net receipts from loans for the fiscal year 1915-16 amounted to £1,165,000,000.

In the fiscal year 1916-17, another general war loan was made for nearly £800,000,000; Exchequer bonds (at 5 and 6 per cent) were sold to the amount of £240,000,000; and Treasury bills and other borrowing made a net total of loans for this year of £1,620,000,000. In 1917-18, the net total of loans amounted to about £2,000,000,000, including Treasury bills, Exchequer bonds, additions to the 4 and 5 per cent loan of 1917, about £500,000,000 loaned by the United States Government, war savings certificates and national war bonds.

The principal items in the war loans for the several years are shown in the following table:[1]

[1] E. L. Bogart: *Direct Costs of the Present War,* pp. 6-13.

(In Millions of Pounds)

	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18 to Dec. 31, 1917
Treasury bills (net)	£ 61.65	£ 488.8	£ *102.2	£1,058.0
Exchequer bonds	47.70	†179.1	352.0	82.0
3½% War loan	296.00	35.8	.....	.....
War loans	.....	592.0	780.0	218.0
5% Anglo-French loan	.....	50.0	110.0	.....
Miscellaneous	160.40	30.0	413.0	46.0
Loan from U. S. Gov't	.....	.....	.....	409.0
Total	£565.75	£1,375.7	£1,757.2	£1,813.0
Less repayments		160.4	4.4	25.0
Net loans		£1,215.3	£1,752.8	£1,788.0

* Net amount retired.
† Net amount retired £25,800,000.

The London *Economist* (February 23, 1918) places the total gross indebtedness of Great Britain at £5,678,600,000 on February 16, 1918, as compared with £710,500,000 on August 1, 1914, an increase of £4,968,100,000, or 699.2 per cent. From the total present debt there should be deducted the advances to the Allies and Dominions which had reached £1,444,000,000 on February 9, 1918, making the net debt on February 16, 1918, approximately £4,430,000,000, or $21,558,600,000. Details of the public debt are given in the following table.[1]

(In Millions of Pounds)

	Aug. 1, 1914	Mar. 31, 1915	Mar. 31, 1916	Mar. 31, 1917	Feb. 16, 1918
Funded debt	£586.7	£ 583.3	£ 318.5	£ 317.8	£ 317.8
Terminable annuities	29.6	28.0	26.1	24.0	24.0
Unfunded debt:					
3½% war stock	.....	349.1	62.8	62.7	62.7
4½% war stock	.....	.....	900.0	20.0	20.0
4% and 5% war stock	.....	.....	.....	1,962.4	2,086.9
National war bonds	.....	.....	.....	.....	363.9
Treasury bills	15.5	77.2	556.8	463.7	1,054.8
Exchequer bonds	20.5	67.4	177.0	320.3	402.6
War savings certificates	.....	.....	1.4	74.5	120.3
War expenditure certificates	.....	.....	.....	23.6	23.5
Other debt	.....	.....	9.2	316.5	861.9
American loans	.....	.....	51.4	51.4	51.4
Temporary advances	1.0	.....	19.9	217.5	237.8
Other capital liabilities	57.2	57.0	56.7	52.2	51.2
Total liabilities	£710.5	£1,162.0	£2,179.8	£3,906.6	£5,678.8

[1] *The Economic World*, April 27, 1918, n.s., vol. xv, No. 17, p. 593.

Several committees were appointed to assist in encouraging investors to take part in the war loans.[1] In July, 1915, a War Savings (Irish) Committee was formed, to impress upon the people of Ireland the necessity of effecting economies during the war and the desirability of investing in the war loan.

In December, 1915, a committee was provided, at the National Debt Office, to control the operations of the Treasury for the purpose of carrying into effect the government scheme for the sale to and deposit with the Treasury of American dollar securities in connection with the regulation of the foreign exchanges.

About the same time another committee was appointed at the Treasury, with Mr. E. S. Montagu as chairman, to consider the best methods of obtaining contributions to war loans from small investors. This committee reported on January 26, 1916.

A War Savings (National) Committee was established in February, 1916, to inculcate the necessity of saving for the successful and efficient prosecution of the war and investing in government securities, especially war savings certificates.

In May, 1916, a War Savings Committee for Scotland was appointed.

The War Loan Act of December, 1916, is especially notable for the unlimited discretion vested in the Treasury as to the manner and conditions of the loans authorized. The act provides that:

> Any money required for the raising of any supply granted to His Majesty for the service of the year ending the 31st day of March, 1917 . . . may be raised in such manner as the Treasury may think fit, and for that purpose they may create and issue any securities by which any public loan has been raised, or such other securities bearing such rate of interest and subject to such conditions of repayment redemption or otherwise, as they think fit.

Taxes and Revenue

While the greater part of the war expenditures have been met by means of loans, the British Government early provided for additional taxation to meet part of the burden. The regular

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, pp. 149, 162, 163.

budget for 1914-15 had proposed new taxes amounting to more than £15,000,000 over the preceding year. In November, 1914, still further taxes were imposed, which were estimated to yield over £15,000,000 additional. The exchequer receipts for the year ending March 31, 1915, were £226,694,000, almost £30,000,000 more than for the previous year.

Chancellor of the Exchequer McKenna's budget for 1915-16 proposed further increases of taxation, the total revenue receipts being estimated at £270,000,000. But as the expenditures mounted a more vigorous policy was adopted; and in September still higher rates of taxation were imposed, especially in the income and supertaxes, and a tax on excess war profits was introduced, bringing the total estimated revenue to £305,000,000. The new and higher taxes proved more lucrative than had been estimated; and the total revenue receipts for the year amounted to more than £336,000,000, an increase of about 50 per cent over 1914-15.

For the year 1916-17 still more drastic taxes were imposed. The normal income tax was raised to 25 per cent; the rate of the excess profits tax was increased from 50 to 60 per cent; customs and excise duties were doubled and quadrupled; and many new indirect taxes were introduced. These were estimated to yield £255,000,000 new revenue, or a total of £570,000,000. The revenue receipts for the year slightly exceeded this, amounting to £573,000,000, about 70 per cent more than for the previous year, and nearly three times the revenue of the year 1913-14.[1]

The budget for 1917-18 proposed only comparatively slight additions to the tax revenues, hardly more than enough to care for the increased interest charges on loans. The rate of excess profits duty was again increased, to 80 per cent. The revenue from excise taxes decreased sharply, on account of the reduction in consumption of liquors; but other taxes, especially the income and excess profits taxes, yielded substantial additions above the previous year and the estimates. The revenue receipts for the year exceeded the estimates by about £15,000,000, amounting to

[1] E. L. Bogart: *Direct Costs of the Present War.*

£707,000,000, about 20 per cent more than the preceding year.

The new and higher taxes were administered by the boards of customs and inland revenue, in existence before the war, and did not involve any radical reorganization of the revenue services. An additional agency of some importance was the Excess Profits Duty Board of Referees, a body of 29 members, appointed to consider appeals and applications in connection with the excess profits duty.[1]

The following table shows the principal sources of revenue receipts for each fiscal year, beginning with 1913-14:

BRITISH REVENUE RECEIPTS

(In Thousands of Pounds)

	1913-14 (a)	1914-15 (b)	1915-16 (c)	1916-17 (d)	1917-18 (e)
Customs	£ 35,450	£ 38,662	£ 59,606	£ 70,561	£ 71,261
Excise	39,590	42,313	61,210	56,380	38,772
Estate duties	27,359	28,382	31,035	31,232	31,674
Stamps	9,966	7,577	6,764	7,878	8,300
Land tax	700	630	660	640	2,625
House duty	2,000	1,930	1,990	1,940	
Income tax	47,249	69,399	128,320	205,033	239,509
Excess profits tax	.....	.....	140	139,920	220,214
Land value duties	715	412	363	521	685
Total tax revenue	£163,029	£189,305	£290,088	£514,105	£613,040
Nontax revenue	35,214	37,389	46,679	59,323	94,194
Total revenue	£198,243	£226,694	£336,767	£573,428	£707,234

(a) *The Times History of the War,* vii, ch. 114, p. 259.
(b) *Whitaker's Almanack,* 1916, p. 494.
(c) *Parliamentary Papers,* 1916, No. 64.
(d) *Ibid.,* 1917, No. 71.
(e) *The Economic World,* May 11, 1918, n.s., xv, p. 667.

The table below summarizes the tax and revenue receipts by fiscal years:

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 153.

TAX AND REVENUE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES[1]

(In Thousands of Pounds)

Year Ending Mar. 31	Net Receipts from Taxation	Total Revenue Receipts of the Exchequer	Total Expenditure	Ratio of Tax Receipts to Expenditure	Ratio of Total Revenue to Expenditure
1913	£154,854	£188,802	£188,622	82.1	100.1
1914	163,035	198,243	197,493	82.6	100.4
1915	190,054	226,694	560,474	33.9	40.4
1916	290,873	336,767	1,559,158	18.7	21.6
1917	*516,256	573,428	2,198,113	23.5	26.1
1918	613,040	707,234	2,696,221	22.8	26.2
Aug. 1, 1914, to March 31, 1918		1,779,187			

*Includes exchequer receipts from customs and excise and net receipts from all other sources.

The revenue receipts for 1917-18 were more than three and a half times those for the last fiscal year before the war; while the expenditures for 1917-18 were thirteen times those for 1913-14.

Expenditures

In addition to the sums raised by the home government there have been large amounts raised by the British colonies and dependencies. The governments of Canada, Australia and New Zealand have financed the cost of their armies. South Africa has borne the whole cost of the war in South West Africa and a large part of the cost of its forces in East Africa. The larger part of the expenditure for the Indian forces has been met by the British Exchequer; but the Indian Government has had considerable payments and has contributed £100,000,000 towards the cost of the war. Contributions have also been made by the Crown Colonies, protectorates and the native princes and chiefs in India.

[1] *The Economic World*, April 27, 1918, n.s., xv, p. 593 (Sources: London *Gazette*, February 19, 1918; *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1917, pp. 42-48, 1918, p. 43; 60th Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue, 1917); *The Economic World*, May 11, 1918, n.s., xv, p. 667.

The following table shows the distribution of expenditure for the fiscal year 1915-16:[1]

Consolidated fund services		£ 73,488,000
Supply services		86,018,000
Army (token votes)	£ 15,000	
Navy " "	7,000	
Ministry of Munitions (token votes)	2,000	
Civil services	54,718,000	
Revenue departments	4,603,000	
Post office services	26,673,000	
Votes of credit		1,399,652,000
I Excesses of accounts of votes:		
Army	£526,698,000	
Navy	205,717,000	
Munitions	224,639,000	
Civil services	2,118,000	
Revenue departments	3,538,000	
Total	£962,710,000	
II Outside parliamentary votes:		
Treasury—Loans	£315,967,000	
Bank of England	30,599,000	
Exchange account	53,375,000	
Total	£399,941,000	
Board of Trade	10,787,000	
Other departments	20,211,000	
Total	£430,939,000	
Total expenditure		£1,559,158,000
Issues to meet capital expenditure		2,570,000
Advances		3,807,000
Redemption of unfunded debt		489,398,000
Balance, March 31, 1916		25,575,000
Grand total		£2,217,096,000

Control over Finances

The stupendous expansion of expenditures on account of the war has involved a suspension in large part of much of the machinery for the control of government finances in Great Britain. As already noted, the great bulk of the government expenditures have been authorized under lump-sum votes of credit for hundreds of millions of pounds, with no detailed estimates or

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1916, No. 54; 1917, No. 64.

itemized appropriations. The expenditures made from such votes of credit included, not only the additional war expenses, but also the ordinary expenses of the army and navy; and in addition the expenditures of the new ministries, departments and other agencies created during the war; and still further, considerable amounts for many of the civil service departments over and above the appropriations to meet the estimates still made for these departments.

As a result, the usual forms of parliamentary control over appropriations are no longer in force for more than 95 per cent of the government expenditures. The primary control in effect has been that of the Treasury, to which the votes of credit are made. But while the Treasury has required preliminary estimates for additional allowances from the votes of credit for the civil service departments, these have not been required for the great bulk of expenditures for the army and navy or for the munitions and other new ministries, departments and agencies.

A first step to examine the possibilities of reducing expenditures was taken by the Treasury in July, 1915, when a Retrenchment Committee was appointed: "to inquire and report what savings in public expenditure can, in view of the necessities created by the war, be effected in the civil departments without detriment to the interests of the state." This committee consisted of 12 members, with Chancellor of the Exchequer McKenna as chairman, Mr. E. S. Montagu, Financial Secretary of the Treasury, several other members of Parliament, and some other members.

This committee submitted three preliminary reports, in September and December, 1915, and January, 1916, and a final report on February 21, 1916.[1] These reports discussed in turn many of the civil service departments; but dealt for the most part with minor details, although some plans for administrative reorganization were proposed. The final report called attention to the increase in the civil service estimates since 1895, from

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1914-1916, Cd. 8048, 8139, 8180, 8200.

£19,000,000 to £59,000,000, due to new grants and new services, such as old age pensions, national insurance and education. Attention was called to measures already taken to secure economies. The recommendations included the establishment of a uniform eight-hour day in government offices, a reorganization of the subordinate departments of the Board of Trade, and a consolidation of the four insurance commissions, and referred to other suggested changes.

No thoroughgoing plans of reorganization nor far-reaching plans for improvement were urged by this committee, even with respect to the civil service departments; while its scope was limited to what had become a relatively minor part of the field of government expenditure.

Some measures were also taken by a few of the larger spending departments to consider the problem of expenditures. In November, 1915, a Ministry of Munitions Committee on Expenditures was appointed, to review the expenditure of the Ministry and to secure economy.[1] Later a Munitions Finance Committee and a Munitions Financial Advisory Committee were formed. But, as is noted elsewhere in this report, the financial methods of this Ministry continued to be extremely lax.

In January, 1916, a War Office Expenditure Committee was appointed to consider possibilities of economy in the army expenditure. Mr. W. H. Long was chairman of this committee, on which General Sir W. Robertson, Chief of Staff, was a member.[2]

A Treasury Committee on War Expansion of Government Departments was also appointed.

The opinion in favor of more effective supervision over finances was indicated in the report of the House of Commons Committee on Public Accounts, on July 31, 1917, which urged that estimates more closely approaching those of normal times both for the fighting services and for new departments be charged to the votes of credit.[3]

A Treasury minute of November 1, 1917, replying to this recommendation, considered the proposal impractical and against

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 155.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[3] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, No. 123.

the public interest; but stated that there would be submitted with the estimates a statement of the services for which provision is to be made from the votes of credit, and that the practice of token estimates would be extended to all new departments presided over by responsible ministers.[1]

Committee on National Expenditure

As the result of a discussion in the House of Commons in July, 1917, on the control over finances, a Select Committee on National Expenditure with broad powers of inquiry was appointed. Mr. Herbert Samuel (one of the former Ministers in the Asquith Cabinets) said of the existing system, even before the war:

> By universal agreement . . . the control of the House of Commons over the expenditure of departments is a mere simulacrum of control. It is perfunctory; it is unreal. If expenditure goes up in any department in time of peace by two or three million pounds the attention of Parliament is directed to it, and the Minister in charge has to explain and justify his proposal, but for the rest Parliament is unable to take cognizance of any of the details of expenditure. Sometimes there may be a more or less amusing discussion in Committee of Supply on some increase of £5,000, which the Minister in charge is unable to explain because he has not sufficiently learned up his brief; but real, effective, businesslike control of Parliament is entirely absent.

Mr. Samuel also analyzed in turn the present methods of control: within the departments, by the Treasury, by the Controller and Auditor General, and by the House of Commons.[2]

The government agreed to the appointment of a Select Committee under the following proposed terms of reference:

> That a Select Committee be appointed:
> (1) to examine the expenditure which is now being defrayed out of moneys provided by Parliament, and to report what if any economies consistent with the execution of the policy decided upon by the government may be effected therein;

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, No. 171.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 95, 1554 (July 6, 1917).

(2) to make recommendations in regard to the form of parliamentary estimates and accounts, the system of control within the departments and by the Treasury, and the procedure of this House in relation to supply and appropriation, so as to secure more effective control by Parliament over public expenditure; and to have power to appoint one or more subcommittees to investigate such matters as the committee may deem necessary for the purpose of making such recommendations, and the committee may appoint from outside its own members such additional members as it may think fit to serve on such subcommittees.[1]

The order for the committee was passed on July 25, the committee to consist of 26 members, with 5 as a quorum, and with power to send for persons, papers and records.[2] Mr. Herbert Samuel, a member of the Asquith Cabinets, not in office, was appointed chairman.

A special report of the committee, on August 1, announced the appointment of six subcommittees on (1) the War Office; (2) the Admiralty and Ministry of Shipping; (3) the Ministry of Munitions and Air Board; (4) the Ministry of Food, the Wheat and Sugar Commissions, the Board of Trade, and the Ministry of Blockade; (5) the Ministry of Works, the National Service Department, the Ministry of Labor and the Post Office; (6) the Treasury.[3]

A first report was submitted by the committee on October 24 on the War Office, the Ministry of Munitions, the Wheat Commission and the Ministry of National Service. The committee criticized the departmental control of finance in the Ministry of Munitions and recommended that one parliamentary secretary of this Ministry be charged with finance, and also recommended a larger degree of Treasury control.[4]

A second and more important report was submitted by the committee on December 13, 1917. Up to that time the committee and subcommittees had held 132 meetings and examined 182 witnesses.

With reference to parliamentary estimates, the committee reported that estimates for war expenditures would be almost valueless, and for the more important votes not compatible with

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 96, 344-345 (1917).
[2] *Ibid.*, 1402.
[3] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, H.C. 125.
[4] *Ibid.*, H.C. 151.

the public interest; but recommended that estimates should be submitted for some of the new departments, for example those connected with the Board of Trade.

Because of the absence of parliamentary estimates the committee considered the Treasury control over expenditures of special importance. The control exercised was far short of the needs of the case, and should be increased and the Treasury staff (of 38 persons) should be enlarged. Attention was called to the fact that the staffs of the new Ministries of Munitions, Labor, Food, Shipping, the Air Board and National Service were not subject to Treasury control; while appointments on the staffs of the new Ministries of Pensions and Reconstruction were subject to Treasury sanction, as was usual in the case of new services established before the war.

Conditions and methods in a number of departments were discussed in some detail. Attention was called to the increase in the War Office staff, from 218 to 1,500, and to the lack of coordination between the War Office and the Admiralty in acquiring lands. The revival of the Controller of the Navy, which had been in abeyance for some years, was commended; but it was noted that there were no estimates of costs in the national shipyards, and that the cost of naval shipbuilding had increased 70 per cent. Some minor recommendations for concentration of organization within the Board of Trade were made. More serious criticism was made of the Employment Department of the Ministry of Labor with reference to salaries, office arrangements and financial reports. [1]

The Select Committee on National Expenditure was renewed in 1918; and has made several additional reports. [2] The creation and the work of this committee indicates and emphasizes the need for more active supervision over estimates and appropriations, both by the Treasury and the House of Commons.

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, H.C. 167.
[2] *Ibid.*, H.C. 188; 1918, H.C. 23, 30.

CHAPTER XII

Other Departments

Foreign Office

At the outbreak of the war Sir Edward Grey was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and he held this position until December, 1916. When he had first become Foreign Secretary in 1905 the British Government had already begun the policy of entering into closer relations with France. Grey had continued this policy, and in 1907 reached an understanding with Russia. Efforts were also made to keep on good terms with Germany and shortly before the war the terms of a proposed agreement had been formulated with regard to the Bagdad Railway and the Portuguese colonies in Africa. During the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, Grey's efforts were largely responsible for confining these conflicts; but his efforts in the same direction in the diplomatic correspondence of the end of July, 1914, were not successful.

After the beginning of the war, under Grey's leadership, an agreement was entered into between Great Britain, France and Russia that none would make a separate peace with Germany. This agreement was later joined by Italy and other Allies. In 1915 efforts were again made to revive the Balkan League; and after the failure of this project, the crushing of Serbia and the collapse of Roumania, Grey retired from the Cabinet with Mr. Asquith in December, 1916.

As the war progressed a series of interallied organizations have been formed for dealing with various problems. From time to time there have been conferences of Allied ministers. More continuous agencies were established for economic and administrative purposes. In August, 1914, a *Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement* was formed. In December, 1915, arrangements

were made for the joint purchase of wheat, flour and maize for the British, French and Italian Governments. A year later a Wheat Executive was established for this purpose; and its functions have since been extended to other cereals. Similar agencies have been provided for meat and animal fats, vegetable oils and oil seeds, sugar and nitrate of soda. Other joint agencies were set up for hides, wool and wool products, certain explosives and raw materials, Spanish lead, copper, Russian supplies, Roumanian supplies, the chartering of neutral vessels, and for requirements in the United States.[1]

In the Lloyd George Ministry, the position of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was given to Mr. Arthur James Balfour, who had been Prime Minister and leader of the Unionist party from 1902 to 1905. His administration in the Foreign Office has been marked by the revolution in Russia and the withdrawal of that country from the war and by the entrance of the United States into the contest. In the spring of 1917 Mr. Balfour came to the United States at the head of the British mission to consult with reference to policies and plans. A special mission was also sent to Russia in January, and another in June, 1917.

During 1917 there were more frequent conferences of the leading ministers of the western Allies—at London, Paris, Rome, St. Jean de Maurienne, Calais, Folkestone and Rapallo. In November, at the conference at Rapallo, an agreement was made between Great Britain, France and Italy (afterwards joined by the United States) to form a Supreme War Council, to consist of the Prime Minister and one other minister from each country, meeting once a month normally at Versailles. To this council was attached a permanent joint military staff. In December a permanent Allied Naval Council was formed. These inter-allied agencies have continued in operation during the year 1918.

Considerable expansion has taken place in the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the war. At the head of this Ministry is the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with a parliamen-

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 18-20.

tary under-secretary and a permanent secretary. Before the war, the following departments were organized within the Foreign Office: Chief Clerk, American Affairs, Commercial and Sanitary Affairs, Consular Affairs, Far Eastern Affairs, Treaties (including Passports), Librarian and Keeper of the Papers, and Registry.

By 1917, the following additional departments had been organized for the war; Parliamentary department, News department, Passport Office, Prize Court department and Foreign Claims Office. [1]

Foreign Office committees have been established on contraband, detention of neutrals (claims to compensation), prize claims and revision of treaties with enemy countries.

In March, 1916, a committee was appointed to inquire whether any avoidable delay had been caused by the methods hitherto adopted for dealing with ships and cargoes brought into British ports under the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and to make such general recommendations as they think fit for improving such methods. [2]

An Enemy Debts Committee has been established at the Foreign Office to report on the arrangements to be adopted for the liquidation of the commercial, banking and other financial transactions between British and enemy persons, the completion of which was prevented by the outbreak of the war, and for this purpose to consider the returns made to the Custodians of Enemy Property, and to the Public Trustee and the Foreign Claims Office, and any information on matters relating thereto.

A Belgian Trade Committee was announced in August, 1917, consisting of representatives of the Foreign Office, the Board of Trade and British commercial and financial interests, to investigate means for the promotion and advancement of trade between the British Empire and Belgium. [3]

Reference has already been made to the Overseas Trade In-

[1] *The Foreign Office List for 1917*, pp. 5-6.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 160.
[3] U. S. *Commerce Reports*, No. 54, March 6, 1918; *Ibid.*, No. 208, September 6, 1917.

telligence Department, established in 1918, representing the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade.

Blockade Ministry

In February, 1916, a Blockade Ministry was established, with the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir Robert Cecil) as Minister. This Ministry took over some branches of the Foreign Office work; and in 1917 it included the following departments: Contraband department (8 sections), Foreign Trade department, Finance Section, War Trade Intelligence department, Restriction of Enemy Supplies department, War Trade Statistical department, and Prisoners of War department. [1]

Colonial Office

At the beginning of the war Mr. Lewis Harcourt occupied the position of Secretary of State for the Colonies. At the formation of the Coalition Ministry in June, 1915, his place was taken by Bonar Law, leader of the Unionist party in the House of Commons. In the Lloyd George Ministry, formed in December, 1916, Mr. Law became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Walter Long, also a Unionist, became Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Several committees have been established at the Colonial Office to consider problems arising out of the war.

A Dominions War Contingents Committee was appointed in August, 1914, to render any advice and assistance to the committees of the various Dominions War Contingents Associations, and to act as a general channel of communication between these committees and the public departments. This committee consisted of eight members, including Viscount Bryce and Sir Gilbert Parker, with Mr. A. D. Steel-Maitland, M.P., Under-Secretary for the Colonies, as chairman. [2]

[1] *The Foreign Office List for 1917*, pp. 5-6.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 152.

A Prize (Oversea) Disposal Committee was created on November 11, 1914:

> To report in what class of cases it is expedient that prize ships captured or detained at ports outside the United Kingdom should be moved for sale or disposal to other ports or should be chartered for purposes of trade, and to make the necessary arrangements in such cases as are remitted to them by the departments concerned in the administration of the territories where the prize ships are detained, and to take the necessary steps for chartering for use in British commerce such enemy ships detained in this country as may be required for this purpose.

This committee consisted of eight members, with Vice Admiral Sir E. J. Slade as chairman. [1]

A West Indian Contingent Committee was formed in August, 1915, at the instance of the Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Bonar Law, to provide for the welfare and comfort of the men of the Bermudian and West Indian Contingents, as well as of those who had already come over independently and of others who may come. A Ladies Committee was also provided to assist this committee. [2]

A Nuts and Seeds Committee was appointed in August, 1915, to consider and report upon the condition and prospects of the West African trade in palm kernels and other edible and oil-producing nuts and seeds, and to make recommendations for the promotion in the United Kingdom of the industries dependent thereon. [3]

A Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of certain portions of His Majesty's Dominions, appointed in 1912, presented to Parliament in November, 1915, an extended memorandum relating to the food and raw material requirements of the United Kingdom. This included detailed statistics from 1901 to 1913, showing the total requirements, home supplies, amounts from overseas and from the dominions. This commission included six members from the United King-

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 158.
[2] *Colonial Office List,* 1916, p. xlii.
[3] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 156.

dom, and one each from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Newfoundland. [1]

A Committee on Colonial Blue Books has been formed to consider and report to what extent Blue Books and Blue Book reports meet existing requirements, and whether any steps can be taken to improve or supplement them or make them more accessible. [2]

An Empire Settlement Committee has been established at the Colonial Office to consider and report on the measures to be taken for settling within the Empire ex-soldiers who may desire to emigrate after the war; to collect and prepare for distribution information as to the facilities offered by the government of the dominions; and to make recommendations for the constitution of a central authority to supervise and assist such emigration. [3]

A joint committee of the India and Colonial Offices has been appointed to assist disabled or invalided officers who may be desirous of obtaining employment in India, Burma, the Eastern colonies and Malay States. [4]

The Colonial Office also took an active part in the Imperial Conferences of 1917 and 1918.

Education

The war has had important and far-reaching effects on the educational institutions and educational system of Great Britain; and has also led to important measures for the organization and development of educational methods.

From the outbreak of the war, enlistment of young men from the schools and universities caused a large and rapid falling off in their attendance. Oxford University, which had an attendance of 3,181 in 1914, had fallen to 491 in 1917. The attendance in girls' schools was also affected by withdrawals for relief and other auxiliary work.

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* Cd. 8123.
[2] U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No. 54, March 6, 1918.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*

To meet the conditions caused by the large falling off in attendance at the universities and colleges a University and Colleges (Emergency Powers) Act was passed on March 16, 1915. This extended the purposes for which money might be borrowed or applied to include the making good of deficiencies in revenues, and also provided for extending the period for the repayment or replacement of money borrowed or applied. This act also contained special provisions authorizing the University of Oxford and Cambridge and the colleges therein to make emergency statutes postponing elections to fellowships, scholarships and professorships, and payments in relation to such matters. [1]

Conditions in the elementary schools were also affected. The board of education, by a circular of March 12, 1915, authorized local authorities to suspend the enforcement of compulsory attendance by-laws. Many of the large towns (such as Birmingham, Bradford and Hull) declined to change their policy; but in many other places the release of children for work in agriculture and other employment was encouraged. It was estimated that 500,000 children under 14 were employed before the war. Six hundred thousand additional were estimated to have withdrawn during the first three years of the war. [2]

The operation of the schools was also affected by the use of school buildings for military and other governmental purposes. At the end of May, 1916, some 200 buildings were employed in this way in different parts of the country. This led to a reduction of the school hours for younger children in some cases. [3]

Disturbed conditions due to the war also led to considerable unrest and an increase of juvenile delinquency, due in part to the lack of parental and other control, as many of the men went into the combatant forces. Efforts to meet this condition were undertaken by the organization of boy scouts and girls' brigades. The Home Office established a Juvenile Organizations Committee to consider: (1) what steps can be taken to attract boys and girls

[1] 5 Geo. V, ch. 22.
[2] *The Times History of the War*, xiv, ch. 215, p. 262.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

to become members of brigades and clubs; (2) the possibility of transferring a boy or girl from one organization to another when this seems desirable; (3) the steps to be taken to prevent overlapping of work; (4) the strengthening of weaker units; (5) the difficulty of obtaining officers; (6) difficulties in securing the use of school premises as clubrooms or play centers, and other matters relating to the effectiveness of brigades and clubs. [1]

In the spring of 1916 several measures were taken towards planning for the future in educational matters. Reference has already been made (Chapter IX) to the formation of the Privy Council Committee for Scientific and Industrial Research, which was organized early in 1916. In April of this year, there was also established a Royal Commission on University Education in Wales to inquire into the organization and work of the University of Wales and its three constituent colleges, and into the relations of the University to those colleges and to other institutions in Wales providing education of a post-secondary nature, and to consider in what respects the present organization of university education in Wales can be improved and what changes, if any, are desirable in the constitution, functions, and powers of the University and its three colleges. This commission consisted of nine members, with Viscount Haldane as chairman. [2]

In the same month the Board of Education for England and Wales established a departmental committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War, to consider what steps should be taken to make provision for the education and instruction of children and young persons after the war, regard being had particularly to the interests of those (1) who have been abnormally employed during the war; (2) who can not immediately find advantageous employment; or (3) who require special training for employment. This committee consisted of sixteen members, two of whom were women, with J. Herbert Lewis, M.P., as chairman. [3]

An interim report was submitted by this committee on August

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 152.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

24, 1916, and a final report in 1917. The committee had met on 35 days and examined 97 witnesses. It recommended a uniform elementary school leaving age of 14, and the establishment of continuation classes for children between 14 and 18, obligatory for those not receiving other instruction for not less than 8 hours a week for 40 weeks a year. [1]

In August, 1916, two other committees were appointed, one on the Teaching of Modern Languages and one on the Teaching of Natural Science, to inquire into the position occupied by these subjects in the educational systems of Great Britain, especially in the secondary schools and universities, and to advise what measures are needed to promote their study. The committee on modern languages was to take into consideration the requirements of a liberal education, including an appreciation of the history, literature, and civilization of other countries and the interest of commerce and public service. The committee on the teaching of science was to have regard to the requirements of a liberal education, to the advancement of pure science, and to the interests of the trades, industries, and professions which particularly depend upon applied science. [2]

Two committees have also been appointed by the Board of Education on Principles of Arrangements Determining Salaries of Teachers—one committee considering this question with reference to teachers in elementary schools and the other with reference to teachers in secondary and technical schools and other institutions for higher education (other than university institutions). These committees were to inquire into the principles which should determine the fixing of salaries, due regard being had to such differentiation in respect to locality, duties, qualifications, sex, and other relevant considerations as is consistent with or necessary to the organization of the teaching service throughout the country on a system conducive to the efficiency of national education. [3]

In the summer of 1916 it was announced that the Reconstruc-

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1916, Cd. 8374; 1917, Cd. 8512, 8577.
[2] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, p. 159.
[3] U. S. *Commerce Reports,* March 6, 1918, No. 54.

tion Committee should supervise and review changes in the educational system. [1]

After the organization of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1917 an Adult Education Committee was established to consider the provision for and possibilities of adult education (other than technical or vocational) in Great Britain, and to make recommendations. [2]

At the beginning of the war Mr. Joseph A. Pease occupied the position of President of the Board of Education for England and Wales. On the formation of the Coalition Cabinet in June, 1915, this place was assigned to Arthur Henderson, one of the Labor members of Parliament. In August, 1916, Marquess of Crewe became President of the Board of Education.

On the organization of the Lloyd George Ministry in December, 1916, the presidency of the Board of Education for England and Wales was assigned to Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sheffield. This appointment was of especial significance, in assigning this post to a professional teacher of high standing, whereas hitherto this place had generally been given to a leader in political life. Mr. Fisher's appointment indicated that the new government expected to give a good deal of attention to educational problems; and in August, 1917, an Education Bill was introduced for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Committee on Juvenile Education for the establishment of continuation schools for children between 14 and 18. There was general agreement in favor of the educational principles of the bill, but on account of criticism of some administrative features the bill was withdrawn in December. In 1918 another Education Bill was introduced, based on the same main principles requiring children up to the age of 14 to give full time to school education and compulsory part time education for children between 14 and 18. [3] With some amendments this bill became law.

[1] *The Times History of the War,* xiv, ch. 215, p. 284.
[2] U. S. *Commerce Reports,* March 6, 1918, No. 54.
[3] *The Times History of the War,* xiv, ch. 215, pp. 284-288.

Scottish Committees

Most of the new government departments, commissions and committees established for war purposes have had jurisdiction over the United Kingdom; but in addition to local committees formed throughout the kingdom for various purposes, there have also been a number of central committees appointed for Scotland, in connection with the Scottish administrative departments. These have been noted in connection with the several topics; but it may be of service to bring together a list of the more important Scottish committees, as follows:

Scottish Advisory Committee on Aliens, May 29, 1915.

Committee on Distributing Trades in Scotland, June 4, 1915, to consider the readjustment of the distributing trades in Scotland, so as to release a larger number of men for enlistment or the national service.

Scottish Food Production Committee, June, 1915.

Scottish Committee on Substitutionary Labor during the War (Clerical and Commercial), November 1, 1915, to advise as to the employment of women or otherwise to replace men withdrawn for service in the forces.

War Savings (Scotland) Committee, May, 1916.

In other cases district agencies or subcommittees were established for Scotland. [1]

Irish Committees

A similar list of committees for Ireland shows some corresponding to those for Scotland and some for distinctively Irish problems, while no committees appear for Ireland for some purposes where committees were appointed for the other parts of the United Kingdom. The following is a partial list of Irish committees:

Belgian Refugees (Ireland) Committee, October, 1914, the first general committee on relief for the Belgians.

[1] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, pp. 152, 154, 159, 160, 163.

Women's Employment (Ulster) Central Committee, October, 1914.

Women's Employment Irish Central Committee, November, 1914.

Irish Food Production Committee, June, 1915.

War Savings (Irish) Committee, July, 1915. [1]

In connection with the Easter Rebellion in the spring of 1916, committees were appointed on Victims of the Rebellion and on Property Losses in Ireland. A Royal Commission, created in August, 1916, to inquire into the shooting of Sir Francis Skeffington and others, reported that there was no justification for the shooting of these men, which had been done by order of Captain Bowen Colthurst who was found by a court-martial to have been insane at the time. [2]

Labor Problems

A number of committees and other agencies established to deal with various labor problems have already been noted in other parts of this report. Thus the relief agencies organized in the early months of the war were active in finding employment for those out of work, notably the Women's Employment and Belgian Relief Committees. By the spring of 1915, problems of readjusting the labor supply to meet the dislocation caused by recruiting for the army and munitions works, and of extending the policy of substituting women for men in many new employments led to the formation of new agencies for these purposes, such as the Home Office Committees on Shops and on Clerical and Commercial Employments, and the Scottish Committees on the Distributing Trades and on Substitutionary Labor. During the summer the new Ministry of Munitions developed an elaborate organization, including a Labor Regulation and a Labor Supply Department and Committees on Labor Supply and the Health of Munitions Workers, with local advisory boards. In connection with the development of the munitions industry, many

[1] *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, pp. 149, 154, 163, 164.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 143.

trade union restrictions were modified or suspended, and an extensive " dilution " of labor was secured by the extensive employment of semi-skilled and unskilled labor and women. In October, 1915, a Building Labor Interdepartmental Committee was appointed to control and regulate the rate of wages paid to building labor engaged on the construction of buildings intended for the production of munitions of war.

As the result of trade conferences called jointly by the Board of Trade and the Home Office at the request of the Army Council agreements were also reached in other than engineering trades for the substitution of women. In 1915 agreements were made for textile, leather, printing, baking, woodworking, earthenware and china industries; and in 1916 similar agreements were concluded in lace making, silver plate, cutlery, brush making and other industries. [1]

In November, 1915, an interdepartmental committee of the Home Office and Board of Trade was appointed " to consider the question of utilizing to the full the reserve of women's labor."

In March, 1916, a Women's War Employment (Industrial) Advisory Committee was formed to advise the Board of Trade and the Home Office on questions arising out of measures taken by the departments to give practical effect to the policy of the government of extending the employment of women in industrial occupations, and to watch and report on the progress made. [2]

After the passage of the compulsory Military Service Act a Home Office committee on the employment of conscientious objectors was appointed.

In connection with the work of the various committees active propaganda was carried on by means of publications issued by various government departments. In February, 1916, the Ministry of Munitions published a large illustrated booklet, " Notes on the Employment of Women in Munitions of War." By July, 1916, the Board of Trade had established an information

[1] Andrews and Hobbs: *Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain*, p. 55.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 164.

bureau for the collection and circulation of information on the replacement of male by female labor; and soon after, in cooperation with the Home Office, issued a series of pamphlets on the substitution of women for men in industry. In September, 1916, the War Office put out a large illustrated pamphlet listing occupations on which women were successfully employed. [1]

In November, 1916, a new Women in Munitions Work Committee was formed to consider the question of the supply of women's service (whether voluntary or paid) in canteens, hostels, clubs and other agencies connected with the welfare of munitions workers, and to advise what steps should be taken in connection therewith. Six of the nine members of this committee were women. [2]

Labor problems were thus being handled by a considerable number of new committees and other agencies connected with several different ministerial departments; while the Labor Department and Employment Exchanges connected with the Board of Trade continued to exercise their functions in this field. The result was a large amount of overlapping and conflicting jurisdictions; while no one Minister was responsible for the consideration of labor problems as a whole.

When the Lloyd George Ministry was formed in December, 1916, not only was a prominent Labor member of Parliament made a member of the small War Cabinet, but a new Minister of Labor was appointed. The New Ministries Act, passed later in the same month, made statutory provision for the new Ministry of Labor, and provided that there should be transferred to the Minister of Labor the powers and duties of the Board of Trade under certain acts, and that he should have "such other powers and duties of the Board of Trade or of any other government department or authority relating to labor or industry, whether conferred by statute or otherwise," as may be transferred by Order in Council, or as he might be authorized to perform concurrently with or in consultation with the government depart-

[1] Andrews and Hobbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 60, 61.
[2] *Liberal Year Book*, 1917, p. 164.

ment or authority concerned. The powers of the Board of Trade specifically to be transferred were those under the following acts: Conciliation Act, 1896; Labor Exchange Act, 1909; Trade Boards Act, 1909; National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts, 1911 to 1916; and Part I of the Munitions of War Act, 1915. [1]

An Order in Council of July 2, 1917, transferred to the Ministry of Labor the duties performed by the department of labor statistics of the Board of Trade. [2]

The Estimates of the Ministry of Labor for 1917-18 show the main divisions of this Ministry in the spring of 1917 as follows:

Ministry of Labor	£ 15,606
Employment Department	1,704,020
Industrial Commissions Department	11,421
Trade Boards	16,429
Total	£1,747,476
Appropriations in Aid	510,050
Net Total	£1,232,426

The principal divisions of the Ministry of Labor at the end of 1917 were as follows:

Chief Industrial Commissioners Department
Employment Department
Claims and Record Office
Department of Labor Statistics
Office of Trade Boards [3]

In connection with the Labor Ministry a series of advisory committees have been appointed for different trades for the employment of disabled soldiers and sailors as follows: tailoring; basket, skip and hamper trade; electricity trade; furniture trade; printing and kindred trades; boot and shoe manufacturing, and cinematograph trades. [4]

[1] 6 and 7 Geo. V, ch. 68.
[2] S. R. O. 1917, No. 666.
[3] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, No. 26, vii; *Whitaker's Almanack,* 1918, p. 222.
[4] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8741.

The establishment of the Ministry of Labor did not, however, bring under its control all of the governmental agencies dealing with labor problems. Several government departments retained overlapping and conflicting jurisdiction over some part of the labor world. [1] This was most striking in the case of the Ministry of Munitions, which continued its large powers of regulation and control over labor matters in the munitions industries. But the still newer Ministry of National Service, established in 1917, also had powers of some importance affecting labor.

In the Second Report of the Committee on National Expenditures, made in December, 1917, some criticism was made on financial arrangements in the Ministry of Labor. Some salaries seemed excessive; the various branches of the Ministry were housed in a number of small rooms where proper supervision was impossible; and the reports of the financial officer should be made to the Permanent Secretary and not to the heads of sections. [2]

An Industrial Unrest Commission appointed on June 12, 1917, submitted a series of reports within five weeks. Another series of new labor agencies were the agricultural wages boards provided for in the Corn Production Act of 1917. By the end of the year the central boards for England and Wales and for Ireland had been constituted. In Scotland district committees were first organized. [3]

Ministry of National Service

What has been called the most ambitious—and for a time at least probably the least effective—of the government's attempts to keep up the essential industries of the country under war conditions was the National Service Department. In August, 1916, a Man Power Distribution Board was formed to survey the field of supply and to advise the Cabinet as to the most economical method of its employment. In the Lloyd George Ministry Mr.

[1] *The Times History of the War*, xi, p. 450.
[2] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, No. 167.
[3] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, p. 102.

Neville Chamberlain was appointed as Director General of National Service; and before the passage of any Act of Parliament providing for the new department, it had taken possession of the hotel for its headquarters, assembled a large staff, and proceeded to organize its work.

On March 28, 1917, an act for establishing the Ministry of National Service and the purposes incidental thereto became law. This provided for a Minister of National Service under the title of Director General, and announced that the purpose of the new Ministry was to make

> the best use of all persons, whether men or women, able to work in any industry, occupation or service. As in the case of other new ministries, the act did not specifically define the function of the office, but provided that the Director General of National Service should have "such powers and duties of any government department or authority, whether conferred by statute or otherwise, as His Majesty may by Order in Council transfer to him or authorize him to exercise or perform concurrently with or in consultation with the government department or authority concerned, and also such further powers as may be conferred on him by regulations under the Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act, 1914."

It is further provided that no Order in Council or regulation should authorize the compulsory employment or transfer of any person in or to any industry, occupation or service, or should impose any penalty for any breach of a voluntary agreement made by any person with the Director General of National Service.[1]

The first plan of the new department was to call for volunteers to go wherever they were assigned. As this received only a slight response, conferences with employers and employes were begun to find out what men various firms could spare and to arrange for their transfer to the essential war work by the substitution offices of the department. The duplication of this work with that of the employment exchanges formerly connected with the Board of Trade and now in the new Ministry of Labor seems evident. Enrollment and transfer were to be purely voluntary,

[1] 7 Geo. V, ch. 6.

though there was some suspicion among the labor groups that the scheme was only a preliminary to industrial conscription. [1]

In April the plan of the new department was called a "fiasco," and it was said that only a few hundred placements had actually been made. Later it was described as "one of the prize futilities of the whole war." "National Service . . . is dead. It knows that it is dead. The government knows that it is dead. And all other people know that its corpse has become offensive. . . . What National Service wants is not a hotel, but a mortuary chamber and a post-mortem." [2]

Some more definite information about the organization of the work of this department may be presented from official sources. In reply to a question in the House of Commons on April 19 as to the practical results secured under the National Service scheme since March 1, it was reported that the number of persons employed in the department was 511 at headquarters and 121 in other parts of the country; in addition, 26 officers had been loaned from other government departments, and 273 officers were working as volunteers. The number of persons voluntarily enrolled for service had been increased from 92,000 to 288,000. Assignments to employment had been undertaken by the Ministry of Labor, but after May 1 the National Service Department would make allocations. The agricultural section of the department was said to have provided sufficient plowmen to meet the needs of farmers. The trades section had classified trades in the order of their importance and orders had been issued for restricting the use of labor in certain trades. Thirty-five thousand women had been registered in the women's section for service behind the lines in France. Twelve thousand women were enrolled under an appeal for the Women's Land Army. [3]

During the summer of 1917, Mr. Chamberlain resigned as Director General of National Service, and it was said that he did so because he had nothing to do. Sir Auckland Geddes was

[1] Andrews and Hobbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.
[2] *The New Statesman*, April 7 and July 21, 1917, quoted in Andrews and Hobbs, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
[3] *Parliamentary Debates*, 1917, vol. 92: 1831-1832.

appointed Minister in his place; and the functions of the department were extended.

According to the first report of the Select Committee on National Expenditure (October, 1917), the total staff of the Ministry of National Service, which had included 762 persons on March 31, had been reduced to 431 by August 9, 1917. The total expenditures of the department from December, 1916, to August 8, 1917, had been £223,720. £107,804 had been spent on the publicity campaign. As a result of its work, 351,383 men and 41,984 women had been enrolled, a total of 393,367. Of these the following had found employment:

Men as National Service volunteers	19,951
Men on part time work	9,817
Total men employed	29,768
Women employed	14,256
Total men and women	44,024
Soldiers temporarily released from the army for special work, mainly on the land	68,595

The Select Committee was doubtful if there was any real control over the expenditures of this department by the Treasury, and was of the opinion that the results obtained were not commensurate with the preparations made and the heavy preliminary outlay of money.[1]

A special report of the Select Committee on the Military Service (Review of Exceptions) Act, made on August 2, 1917, had recommended the transfer of the recruiting medical boards and of medical examinations for the military service to civilian control, and for the reexamination of the men waiting to be called up for military service.[2] This recommendation was carried out, and much more, by the transfer of the whole work of recruiting for the military service to the Ministry of National Service in the latter part of 1917—a step which added much to the importance of the work of this department.

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917.
[2] *Cf. Parliamentary Papers*, 1918, No. 185.

In connection with this transfer there was issued on November 15, 1917, a series of instructions providing for the constitution and organization of regions, regional headquarters, and recruiting areas. Great Britain was divided into ten regions, and in each regional headquarters there were to be provided a director of recruiting, a deputy director of recruiting, commissioner of medical service, deputy controller of registration and a deputy controller of statistics. Each region was to be divided into recruiting areas, each of which should be under the control of an area commander with a headquarters staff of assistant directors, commissioners and controllers of recruiting, medical service, registration, and statistics, and an assistant in charge of expenditure.[1]

At the end of 1917, the main departments in the Ministry of National Service were as follows:

Finance Department
Statistical Department
Trade Exemptions Department
Labor Supply Department
Medical Supply Department
Recruiting Department
Registration Department

At the head of the Recruiting Department was placed a director general, with a commissioner of registration and a chief commissioner of medical services. The Reserved Occupations Committee was reconstructed. A War Priority Committee (composed of General Smuts and several Ministers) was formed to decide as to the direction of pressing labor needs. A Labor Priority Committee, in the department of National Service, was to set in motion the machinery for carrying out the instructions of the War Priority Committee.[2]

[1] N.S.I. No. 2, 1917.
[2] *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1918, p. 231; *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*.

Reconstruction Plans

Earlier in this report reference has been made to a considerable number of departmental and other committees appointed from time to time to consider and report on various problems of reconstruction which will arise at the close of the war. Among these were the series of Board of Trade committees to consider the position of certain trades with special reference to international competition, the Commercial and Industrial Policy Committee, a score of committees established by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, and several committees on educational problems. [1]

In the latter part of 1916, a new general Committee on Reconstruction was appointed by Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister; and a series of subcommittees was formed to deal with particular questions. Reports were made by a number of subcommittees on agricultural policy, demobilization of the army, acquisition of powers, coal conservation, aliens, forestry, relations between employers and employed, and women's employment.

In March, 1917, the Committee on Reconstruction was again reorganized, with the Prime Minister as chairman and Mr. E. S. Montagu as vice chairman and executive head. Fourteen other members were appointed, who were selected, not from Ministers with heavy war duties, but from representatives of labor, business and finance, and social workers, including several members of Parliament. The former subcommittees were continued and new subcommittees were appointed on adult education, civil war workers, demobilization, acquisition of land, machinery of government, local government and a Ministry of Health. The scope of the committee was also extended to include problems of housing, unemployment, physical training, juvenile employment and apprenticeship, supply of raw materials and shipping.

In July, 1917, an Act of Parliament was passed providing for a Ministry of Reconstruction; and Dr. Christopher Addison, for-

[1] *Cf.* Chapters IX, XII.

merly Minister of Munitions, was appointed as Minister of this department. The functions of the Minister were:

> to consider and advise upon the problems which may arise out of the present war and may have to be dealt with at its termination, and for the purposes aforesaid to institute and conduct such inquiries, prepare such schemes and make such recommendations as he thinks fit.

For these purposes the Minister was to have such powers and duties of any government department as might be authorized by Order in Council. The functions were to be mainly advisory and not to any substantial extent executive.

The Ministry of Reconstruction was organized in six branches: commerce and production; finance, shipping and common services; labor and industrial organization; rural development; machinery of government, health, education, etc.; and housing and internal transport. An Advisory Council was formed, with four sections, three corresponding to the first three branches and the fourth on social development, including agriculture, education, health and housing.[1]

Additional committees and other agencies on reconstruction have been organized in connection with this new ministry and with other ministries and departments of the government. A list of the various agencies organized to deal with after the war problems, published early in 1918; included no less than 87 bodies, classified in 15 groups as follows:

1. Trade Development, including five committees and commissions dealing with general aspects and nine dealing with specific trades and industries;
2. Finance, including two committees;
3. Raw Materials, including six committees;
4. Coal and Power, including two committees and four subcommittees;
5. Intelligence, with two committees;
6. Scientific and Industrial Research, including two research boards, five standing committees, seven research committees, four inquiry committees, and three provisional organization committees;

[1] *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917*, pp. 204-205.

7. Demobilization and Disposal of Stores, eight committees;
8. Labor and Employment, two committees;
9. Agriculture and Forestry, four committees;
10. Public Administration, six committees;
11. Housing, four committees;
12. Education, eight committees and commissions;
13. Aliens, two committees;
14. Legal, three committees; and
15. Miscellaneous, three committees. [1]

Ministry of Reconstruction Committees

The following committees are directly connected with the Ministry of Reconstruction:

Committee on the Chemical Trades, to advise as to the procedure which should be adopted for dealing with the position of the chemical trades after the war, with a view to the creation of some organization which should be adequately representative of the trade as a whole and by means of which the trade may be enabled hereafter to continue to develop its own resources and to enlist the closest cooperation of all those engaged in the chemical industry.

Engineering Trades (New Industries) Committee, to compile a list of articles suitable for manufacture by those with engineering trade experience or plant, which were either not made in the United Kingdom before the war, but were imported, or were made in the United Kingdom in small or insufficient quantities, and for which there is likely to be a considerable demand after the war, classified as to whether they are capable of being made by: (1) women, (2) men and women, or (3) skilled men; and setting out the industries to which such new manufactures would most suitably be attached; and to make recommendations (*a*) on the establishment and development of such industries by the transfer of labor, machines, and otherwise; (*b*) as to how such a transfer could be made, and what organization would be requisite for the purpose with due regard to securing the cooperation of labor.

Financial Facilities Committee (Treasury and Ministry of

[1] U. S. *Commerce Reports,* No. 54, March 6, 1918; *Parliamentary Papers,* 1918, Cd. 8916.

Reconstruction), to consider and report whether the normal arrangements for the provision of financial facilities for trade by means of existing banking and other financial institutions will be adequate to meet the needs of British industry during the period immediately following the termination of the war, and, if not, by what emergency arrangements they should be supplemented, regard being had in particular to the special assistance which may be necessary: (*a*) to facilitate the conversion of works and factories now engaged upon war work to normal production; (*b*) to meet the exceptional demands for raw materials arising from the depletion of stocks.

Central Committee on Materials Supply, to consider and report upon: (1) the nature and amount of the supplies of materials and foodstuffs which, in the committee's opinion, will be required by the United Kingdom during the period which will elapse between the termination of the war and the restoration of a normal condition of trade; (2) the probable requirements of India, the dominions, and Crown colonies for such supplies at the close of hostilities; (3) the probable requirements of belligerents and neutrals for such supplies at the close of hostilities; (4) the sources from which and the conditions under which such supplies can be obtained and transported, and, in particular, the extent to which they might be obtained from the United Kingdom or within the Empire or from Allied or neutral countries; (5) the question whether any measure of control will require to be exercised in regard to the nature and extent of any such control.

Committee on the Supply of Building Materials: (1) to inquire into the extent of the probable demand for building material for all purposes which will arise in this country during the transition period, and the extent of the available supply and form of such material; (2) to inquire how far the quantities of material now available are capable of increase, what are the difficulties in increasing them, and how these difficulties can be removed, and to report to what extent an increase in production will affect the price of the materials; (3) in the event of the supply of material or labor being insufficient to fulfil the total building demand, to consider the principles and method by which the priority of various claims should be settled, and to report what steps are necessary to insure that the manufacture of the materials, so far as they are at present inadequate, shall be extended in time to secure sufficient quantities for use when required on the cessation of hostilities, and to recommend what steps should be taken during

the war to facilitate a prompt commencement of building work at that time; (4) generally, to consider and report upon any conditions affecting the building trades which tend to cause unduly high prices, and to make recommendations in regard to any measure of control which it may be desirable to exercise over the purchase, production, transport, or distribution of materials.

Coal Conservation Committee, to consider and advise: (1) what improvements can be effected in the present methods of mining coal with a view to prevent loss of coal in working and to minimize cost of production; (2) what improvements can be effected in the present methods of using coal for production of power, light, and heat, and of recovering by-products with a view to insure the greatest possible economy in production and the most advantageous use of the coal substance; (3) whether, with a view to our maintaining our industrial and commercial position, it is desirable that any steps should be taken in the near future, and if so, what steps, to secure the development of new coal fields or extensions of coal fields already being worked.

Mining, Power Generation and Transmission, Carbonization, and Geological Subcommittees, to consider the question of the application of carbonization to the preparation of fuel for industrial and commercial purposes.

Civil War Workers Committee, to consider and report upon the arrangements which should be made for the demobilization of workers engaged during the war in national factories, controlled establishments, and other plants engaged in the production of munitions of war and on government contracts, or in plants where substitute labor has been employed for the duration of the war.

Disposal of War Stores Advisory Board, to expedite the preparation of any necessary inventories of property and goods of all descriptions held by government departments, and to consider and advise upon the disposal, or alternative form of use, of any property or goods which have or may become, during or on the termination of the war, surplus to the requirements of any department for the purposes of that department.

Committee on Relations between Employers and Employed: (1) to make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen; (2) to recommend means for securing that industrial conditions affecting the relations between employers and workmen shall be

systematically reviewed by those concerned, with a view to improving conditions in the future.

Women's Employment Committee, to consider and advise in the light of experience gained during the war upon the opportunities for the employment of women, and the conditions of such employment, in clerical, commercial, agricultural, and industrial occupations after the war.

Agricultural Policy Committee, having regard to the need of increasing home-grown food supplies in the interest of national security, to consider and report upon the methods of effecting such increase.

Forestry Committee, to consider and report upon the best means of conserving and developing the woodland and forestry resources of the United Kingdom, having regard to the experience gained during the war.

Machinery of Government Committee, to inquire into the responsibilities of the various departments of the central executive government, and to advise in what manner the exercise and distribution by the government of its functions should be improved.

Local Government Committee, to consider and report upon the steps to be taken to secure the better coordination of public assistance in England and Wales, and upon such other matters affecting the system of local government as may from time to time be referred to it.

Committee on the Acquisition of Land for Public Purposes, to consider and report upon the defects in the existing system of law and practice involved in the acquisition and valuation of land for public purposes, and to recommend any changes that may be desirable in the public interest.

Advisory Housing Panel. Certain members of the Reconstruction Committee were invited by the Minister of Reconstruction to complete a general review, which they had undertaken on behalf of the committee of the housing question as it would present itself at the close of the war, and to prepare a memorandum on the subject.

Adult Education Committee, to consider the provision for and possibilities of adult education (other than technical or vocational) in Great Britain, and to make recommendations.

Aliens Committee, to consider: (*a*) the questions which will arise at the end of the war in connection with the presence in this country of persons of an enemy nationality, and whether the repatriation of such is desirable, and if so, in what cases; (*b*)

what restrictions, if any, should be imposed after the war on admission of aliens to this country and their residence here; (*c*) whether any changes in the law or practice of nationalization have been shown by the experience of the war to be required in the public interest.

Demobilization Committees

Committees on Demobilization and Disposal of Stores, in addition to the Ministry of Reconstruction Civil War Workers Committee and the Disposal of War Stores Advisory Board, include the following:

Demobilization of the Army Committee, to consider and report upon the arrangements for the return to civil employment of officers and men serving in the land forces of the Crown at the end of the war.

Officers' Resettlement Subcommittee, to consider and report what arrangements require to be and can be made on demobilization for resettlement of officers in civil life, and also of men belonging to classes to which, in the main, officers belong.

Disabled Officers' Employment Committee (India and Colonial Offices), to assist disabled or invalided officers who may be desirous of obtaining employment in India, Burma, the Eastern colonies, and Malay States.

War Office Demobilization Committee, to consider questions requiring settlement in connection with the demobilization of the army in so far as they fall within the province of the War Department; to act as a link with the committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction; and to prepare a draft scheme of demobilization.

Demobilization Coordination Committee (Admiralty, War Office, and Ministry of Labor): (1) to consider how far the proposed special arrangements to demobilize immediately peace is declared men specially required in connection with the work of demobilization can or should be extended to other men belonging to the public services or to similar "pivotal" men in industry; (2) to coordinate the working of the demobilization scheme of the War Department with the resettlement scheme of the Ministry of Labor; (3) to settle, during demobilization, instructions with regard to priority which may appear to be rendered neces-

sary on public grounds or by the sort of employment in the different industries.

Horse Demobilization Committee (War Office), to frame proposals for the demobilization of horses and mules in relation to the general scheme of demobilization.

War Office Emergency Legislation Committee, set up by the Army Council in July (1917) to consider which (if any) of the emergency acts, and the regulations made thereunder, it may be necessary or advisable to continue in force after the termination of the war for the purpose of facilitating the process of demobilization and reconstruction.

Ministry of Munitions Committee on Reconstruction and Demobilization, to deal with all matters within the Ministry relating to reconstruction and demobilization.

The Ministry of Munitions has also appointed an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau Committee and a Nitrogen Products Committee. The former of these is to prepare a scheme for the establishment in London of an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau: (*a*) to collect information in regard to the mineral resources and metal requirements of the Empire, and (*b*) to advise what action, if any, may appear desirable to enable such resources to be developed and made available to meet requirements.

The Nitrogen Products Committee is to consider the relative advantages of the various methods for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen from the point of view of both war and peace purposes, to ascertain their relative costs, and to advise on proposals relevant thereto which may be submitted to the department; (2) to examine into the supply of the raw materials required, *e.g.,* pure nitrogen and hydrogen, and into the utilization of the by-products obtained; (3) since some of the processes employed depend for their success on the provision of large supplies of cheap power, to ascertain where and how this can best be obtained; (4) to consider what steps can with advantage be taken to conserve and increase the national resources of nitrogen-bearing compounds and to limit their wastage; (5) to carry out the experimental work necessary to arrive at definite conclusions as to the practicability and efficiency of such processes as may appear to the committee to be of value; (6) as a result of the

foregoing steps, to advise as to starting operations on an industrial scale.

Committees on India

Several agencies have been organized to deal especially with problems relating to India.

The *Industrial Development Commission* (Government of India), to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India, and to submit its recommendations with special reference to the following questions: (*a*) whether new openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry can be indicated; (*b*) whether, and, if so, in what manner, the government can usefully give direct encouragement to industrial development—(1) by rendering technical advice more freely available, (2) by the demonstration of the practical possibility on a commercial scale of particular industries, (3) by affording, directly or indirectly, financial assistance to industrial enterprises, or (4) by any other means which are not incompatible with the existing fiscal policy of the government of India.

India Cotton Growing Committee (Government of India): (1) to consider the work that has already been done toward the establishment of long-staple cottons; (2) to determine the measure of success achieved, or in the case of failure the reasons therefor, whether these are due to agricultural or economic causes or to administrative difficulties; (3) to carry out a detailed study of local conditions in each cotton-growing tract and to inquire into the methods of ginning and marketing; (4) to consider the possibility of developing long-staple cottons in India if sufficient funds and staff are devoted solely to that object and to submit recommendations as to the staff required and the organization necessary.

Interdepartmental Conference on Missions in India, to consider the conditions on which aliens should after the war be allowed to conduct missionary or educational work in India.

Reference has been made to the joint committee of the India and Colonial Offices on the employment of disabled officers.

Local Government Board Committees

A number of committees have been established by the Local Government Board, as follows:

National Registration Committee, to consider: (1) the question of the registration of the population for administrative and other national purposes, and (2) what changes, if any, are desirable in the system of registration of births, deaths, and marriages in England and Wales.

Committee on Road Locomotives and Heavy Motor Cars, to consider the law and regulations relating to the construction and use of road locomotives and heavy motor cars in Great Britain, and to report what amendments, if any, are desirable.

Local Government Board Conference on Housing, to consider (1) methods of ascertaining the housing needs of each district; (2) the extent to which local authorities, public utility societies, and private enterprise can be relied on to meet needs; (3) state assistance; (4) amendments in law with a view to facilitating building; and (5) definition of working classes.

Committee on Building By-Laws, to consider the control at present exercised in England and Wales over the erection of buildings and the construction of streets, by means of by-laws and local regulations, and their effect upon building and development, and to make recommendations.

Housing (Building Construction) Committee, to consider questions of building construction in connection with the provision of dwellings for the working classes in England and Wales, and report upon methods of securing economy and dispatch in the provision of such dwellings.

A *Committee on the Interpretation of the term "Period of the War"* has been appointed by the Attorney General: (*a*) to inquire into the legal questions that may arise as to the determination of the date of the termination of the war for the purpose of the various acts, orders, and regulations the duration of which depends directly or indirectly upon the date; (*b*) to consider and advise upon the meaning of the form or forms of temporary commission and voluntary attestation in use in his Majesty's forces since the beginning of the war, with a view to determining the rights of officers and men to release from his Majesty's services at its termination, and to make any recommendations thereon

which seem desirable; (*c*) to consider the effect of the termination of the war upon government and private contracts, and whether any legislative or other steps are necessary to assist in determining questions likely to arise in this connection; (*d*) to consider the effect upon contracts of apprenticeship and other arrangements for learning a trade or profession entered into by officers and men now serving in his Majesty's forces of (1) voluntary acceptance of a commission or enlistment, (2) compulsory service, and (3) the termination of the war, and to make any recommendations thereon which seem desirable, and to report thereon.

A *Dentists Act Committee* has been appointed under the Privy Council, to investigate the extent and gravity of the evils connected with the practice of dentistry and dental surgery by persons not qualified under the Dentists Act, and to consider and report upon: (1) the causes of the present inadequate supply of qualified dentists and dental surgeons; (2) the expediency of legislation prohibiting in the United Kingdom the practice of dentistry and dental surgery by unqualified persons; and, in the event of such legislation being deemed expedient, the conditions under which certain classes of unqualified persons at present engaged in the practice of dentistry might be permitted to continue in practice, by the institution of a special roll for the purpose; (3) the practicability, without impairing the existing guaranties for the efficient practice of dentistry, of (a) modifying the course of study and examination prescribed for dental qualifications, (b) reducing the time occupied, and (c) diminishing the cost of training dental students.

The work of the Ministry of Reconstruction necessarily cuts across the lines of other departments, and there would seem to be serious danger of overlapping, duplication and conflicts of jurisdiction. The extensive and elaborate list of committees and commissions established both within this Ministry and by other departments indicates an active effort to face the problems; but it may be questioned whether the machinery of organization set up is not too complex and cumbersome, and at the same time whether it is sufficiently comprehensive and systematic to cover the field in the most effective manner.

Committee Reports

Several Reconstruction Committees have submitted reports on matters assigned to them.

The Coal Conservation Committee presented an interim report on Electric Power Supply on April 17, 1917, recommending the formation of 16 main districts for each of which there should be one authority for generation and main distribution of electric power, in place of some 600 districts now in existence. Alternative plans of public, private and joint management were presented; but it was indicated that some government assistance might be needed. [1]

The Committee on Forestry submitted its final report in May, 1917, recommending a single Forestry Commissioner for the United Kingdom, instead of placing this work under the separate agricultural departments for England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. [2]

The Committee on Chemical Trades presented a report on November 1, 1917, recommending a standing committee and a departmental organization in the Ministry of Reconstruction to deal with chemical questions, action to be taken in collaboration with representatives of the trade, such as the Association of British Chemical Manufacturers. [3]

The Local Government Committee, appointed in July, 1917, submitted a report on December 19, 1917, on the transfer of the functions of the poor law authorities in England and Wales. This report recommends the abolition of the present poor law unions and boards of guardians, and the merging of all the functions of poor law authorities in the county councils and county borough councils, with modifications for London and some administrative counties; existing services should be unified; there should be local committees on home assistance and on non-employment and training; and existing officials should be transferred and their rights protected. [4]

[1] *Parliamentary Papers,* 1918, Cd. 8880.
[2] *Ibid.,* Cd. 8881.
[3] *Ibid.,* Cd. 8882.
[4] *Ibid.,* 1918, Cd. 8917.

In the spring of 1918 there was published the report of the Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy, appointed in 1916. This report has been described as essentially a "Protectionist" document, supporting (*a*) the prohibition of importation of goods of enemy origin for at least twelve months after peace; (*b*) monopolization of Allied products for the Allies; (*c*) a permanent government policy of making the British Empire self-supporting; (*d*) the exclusion of foreign capital, but the removal of all restriction on the use of British capital abroad; (*e*) a government subsidy or tariff protection for "essential industries"; (*f*) "every encouragement . . . by the government to the formation of combinations of manufacturers and others," coupled with the most determined resistance to any government control over such combinations for the protection either of the wage-earners or of the consumers; (*g*) stringent tariff protection against dumping; and (*h*) placing all such tariff policy outside ministerial and therefore parliamentary control.

This report has been styled a "stupid proposal," based upon a series of reports on selected industries by committees of employers, avowedly self-interested capitalistic groups, and never submitted to public criticism and only published after a long delay. The one Labor representative on the committee of 22 had to content himself with stipulating for the absolute exclusion from foreign trade of any "sweated goods." One member of the committee protested against the proposed policy of removing all legal restrictions from combinations of manufacturers.[1]

While a good deal of valuable preliminary work has been done by these various agencies there does not appear to have been worked out any coherent and consistent policy of reconstruction, nor any agreement as to definite principles on which such a policy should be based.

[1] *The New Statesman*, xi, 85 (May 4, 1918).

APPENDIX

List of Official Commissions and Committees Set up in the United Kingdom to Deal with Public Questions Arising out of the War

[See page 295 for reference notes]

1. Abrasives and Polishing Powders Research Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research).[1]
2. Acetylene Committee.[2]
3. Accommodation (War Departments, etc.) Committee.[3]
   Secretary: Sir A. Durrant, Office of Works, Storey's Gate, S.W.1.
4. Admiralty Board of Invention and Research.[3]
   Victory House, St. James' Square, S.W.1.
5. Admiralty Coasting Trade Committee.[3]
   Secretary: Lt. Col. A. K. Leslie, India House, Kingsway, W.C.2.
6. Admiralty Transport Arbitration Board (1914).
7. Adult Education Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction).[1]
8. Aerial Transport Committee, Civil.[1,3]
   Secretary: Mr. D. O. Malcolm, Winchester House, St. James' Square, S.W.1.
9. Aeronautics Advisory Committee.[3]
   Secretary: Mr. F. J. Selby, National Physical Laboratory, Teddington.
10. Agriculture and Fisheries Board and Royal Agricultural Society (Joint Committee).
    Secretary: Mr. R. S. Langford, 4 Whitehall Place, S.W.1.[3]
11. Agricultural Consultative Committee[5] (August, 1914).[3,4]
12. Agricultural Machinery and Implements Branch of the Ministry of Munitions (January, 1917).[2,4]
13. Agricultural Policy Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction).[1]
14. Agricultural Wages Boards.[6]
15. Air Board (1916).[3]
    Secretary: Sir Paul Harvey, K.C.M.G., C.B., Strand, W.C.2.

16. Air Committee (Joint) [5] (Dissolved in 1916). [3,4,7]
17. Air Ministry. [3,4]
18. Aircraft Insurance Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. J. W. Verdier, 33-36 King William St., E.C.4.
19. Air Risks Insurance Scheme Committee [5] (June 21, 1915). [3]
20. Alcohol Supplies for War Purposes Advisory Committee (December, 1916). [3]
    Secretary: Mr. W. H. Rattenbury, 32 Old Queen Street, S.W.1.
21. Aliens' Advisory Committee (May, 1915). [3]
    Secretaries: Mr. W. J. H. Brodrick and Mr. Paul M. Francke, Home Office, S.W.1.
22. Aliens Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
23. Aliens in Prohibited Areas Committee. [3,5]
24. Aliens of Allied Nationality (Enlistment) Committee. [3,5]
25. Aliens' Restriction Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Lt. Col. W. Dally Jones, Committee of Imperial Defense, Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
26. Aliens' Restriction Regulations Advisory Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. C. E. M. Joad, Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.1.
27. Aliens—Scottish Advisory Committee (May 28, 1915). [3]
    Clerk: Mr. J. Phillips, Scottish Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.

    Aliens, *see* India, Interdepartmental Conference on Missions in.
28. Allied Naval Council (1917). [6]
29. Allied Supreme War Council (1917). [6]
30. American Dollar Securities Committee (December, 1915). [3,4]
    Manager: Mr. G. E. May, 19 Old Jewry, E.C.
31. Anti-aircraft Equipment Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Lieut. G. Head, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
32. Army Canteen Committee (April 11, 1916). [3,4]
    Secretary: Major G. Henderson, Imperial Court, Basil St., S.W.1.
33. Army Contracts, Advisory Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. R. L. Ramsbotham, War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.
34. Army Supplies Commercial Department. [2]
35. Artificial Limbs Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. A. D. Bailey, Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

36. Belgian Refugees (January, 1915). [8]
    Secretary: Mr. H. A. Leggett, Winchester House. [8]
37. Belgian Repatriation Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. H. A. Leggett, General Buildings, Aldwych, W.C.2.
38. Belgian Trade Committee (Foreign Office and Board of Trade). [1,2]
39. Black List Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. R. A. Higginbottom, 1 Lake Buildings, St. James' Park, S.W.1.
40. Bleaching Powder Committee (December, 1916). [2,4]
    Chairman: Col. Alan Sykes, 4 Norfolk Street, Manchester.
41. Blockade Ministry (February, 1916). [3]
    Foreign Office, S.W.1.
42. Blockade Ministry Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. L. C. Liddell, M.V.O., Winchester House, St. James' Square, S.W.1.
43. Building By-Laws, Committee on (Local Government Board). [1]
44. Building Labor Interdepartmental Committee (October 28, 1915). [4]
    Secretary: Mr. W. K. Aikman, C.I.E., Montagu House, Whitehall, S.W.1.
    Secretary: Miss L. P. Johnston, 6 Whitehall Gardens, S.W. [3]
45. Building Materials, Committee on the Supply of (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
46. Building Materials Research Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
47. Building Trades, Central Advisory Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. G. E. Toulmin, Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.1.
48. Butter Supplies Advisory Committee. [2]
49. Canal Control Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. R. B. Dunwoody, 7 Princes Street, S.W.1.
50. Capital Issues Committee (January, 1915). [3,4]
    Secretary: Mr. D. F. Buckley, Treasury, S.W.1.
51. Cargoes (Delay in Unloading) Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. L. W. Atkin Berry, Post Office, E.C.1.
52. Cargoes (Diverted) Committee. [3]
    Secretary: Mr. H. C. Honey, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

Cargoes—Insurance. *See* Insurance.

53. Cattle, British—Committee on Utilization of. [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. Gavin, 4, The Sanctuary, S.W.1.
54. Central Colliery Recruiting Court (1915). [3]
Home Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.
55. Chaplains (Army) Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. C. Beckwith, 15 Albermarle Street, W.1.
56. Chaplains (Army) Interdepartmental Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. G. Monk, Chaplains' Department, Albermarle Street, W.1.
57. Chemical Products Committee [5] (August, 1914). [3,4]
58. Chemical Trades Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1,2]

Civil Aerial Transport Committee, Lord Northcliffe, chairman. [6] *See* Aerial Transport.

59. Civil War Workers' Committee. (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
60. Civilian Internment Camps Committee. [3]
Joint Secretaries: E. Seberg-Montefiore and D. D. Reid, Home Office, S.W.1.
61. Clerical and Commercial Employment Committee [5] (October 16, 1915; 1st report November 9, 1915, Cd. 8110) (Home Office). [3,4]
62. Coal and Coke Supplies, Central Committee [5] (February 4, 1916). [3,4]
63. Coal Conservation Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
64-67. Coal Conservation Committee Subcommittees: [1]
Carbonization,
Geological,
Mining,
Power Generation and Transmission.
68. Coal Exports Committee (April, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. E. J. Elliot, 3 Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1.
69. Coal Mines (Controller of) Advisory Board. [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. D. McNair, 8 Richmond Terrace, S.W.1.
70. Coal Mines Department. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. F. Carlill, 8 Richmond Terrace, S.W.1.

71. Coal Mining Organization Committee [5] (February 23, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. R. G. Snart, Home Office, Whitehall,S.W.
72. Coal, Retail Price of, Committee [9] (February, 1915). [3,8]
Secretary: H. E. Dale, 6A Dean's Yard, Westminster.
73. Coal Trade Committee [5] (June 2, 1916) (Board of Trade). [1,3,4]
74. Cocaine in Dentistry, Committee on use of. [3,5]
75. Cocaine or Opium—Permits—Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. A. Johnston, Home Office, S.W.1.
76. Cold Storage Research Board (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
77. Colonial Blue Books, Committee on (Colonial Office). [1]
78. Commercial and Industrial Policy Committee (July, 1916) (The Prime Minister). [1,3]
Secretaries: Mr. Percy Ashley, Mr. G. C. Upcott, Treasury, S.W.1.
79. Commission Internationale de Ravitaillement (August, 1914). [3]
Secretary: Mr. R. F. H. Duke, India House, Kingsway, W.C.2.
80. Compensation for War Disturbances Royal Commission (August, 1915). [4]
81. Conciliation and Arbitration Board. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. A. Gowers, New Government Extension Buildings, Great George Street, S.W.1.
82. Conscientious Objectors, Employment Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. H. Stewart, Home Office, S.W.1.
83. Conscientious Objectors (Work of National Importance) Committee (March 28, 1916). [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. Gibbon Pritchard, 9 Bridge Street, S.W.1.
84. Contraband Committee. [3]
Foreign Office, S.W.1.
85. Controlled Establishments—Board of Referees on Profits. [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. F. Wakeford, 27 Abingdon Street, S.W.1.
86. Copper Committee (December, 1916). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. A. M. Stroud, 8 Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
87. Cornhill Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. H. Wynne, 2 White Lion Court, E.C.
88. Cotton Control Board (1917). [6]

89. Cotton Growing in the British Empire, Committee on (Board of Trade). [1,2]
90. Cotton Industry, Provisional Committee on Research and Education for the (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
91. Custodian of Enemy Property (December 2, 1914) (Board of Trade).
92. Dardanelles Commission. [3]
    Secretary: Sir E. Grimwood Mears, 2 Hare Court, Temple, E.C.4.
93. Defense of the Realm Regulations Amendment Committee (1915). [3,4]
    Secretary: Captain C. Shawe, War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.
94. Demobilization Committee of the War Office. [1]
95. Demobilization Coordination Committee (Admiralty, War Office, and Ministry of Labor). [1]
96. Demobilization of the Army Committee. [1]
97. Dentists Act Committee (Privy Council). [1]
98. Destitute Aliens Committee. [8,10]
    Secretary: E. Seberg-Montefiore, Home Office.
    Cf. Civilian Internment Camps Committee, No. 60.
99. Diamond Export Committee. [3]
    10-12 Union Bank Buildings, Ely Place, E.C.1.

Disabled. *See* Officers, Soldiers.

100. Disposal of War Stores Advisory Board (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
101. Distributing Trades (Scotland) Committee (June 4, 1915). [3,4]
    Secretary: Mr. P. R. Laird, Scottish Office, S.W.1.
102. Dominions Royal Commission. [1]
103. Dominions War Contingents Committee (August, 1914). [3,8]
    Secretary: Mr. O. G. R. Williams, Colonial Office, S.W.1.
104. Dye Colors Distribution Committee. [3,5]
105. Dyes, Commissioner for. [3]
    7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
106. East Coast Raids Committee [9] (January, 1915). [4,8]
    Joint Secretaries: A. T. Lawrence and A. L. Hobhouse, Board of Education.

Education. *See* Adult.

107. Education (Juvenile) in Relation to Employment after the War Departmental Committee (April, 1916). [1,3,4]
    Secretary: Mr. J. Owen, Board of Education, S.W.1.

108. Education, Position of Natural Science in Educational System of Great Britain Committee (August, 1916) (The Prime Minister). [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. F. B. Stead, Board of Education, S.W.1.

109. Education, Position of Study of Modern Languages in Educational System of Great Britain Committee (August, 1916) (The Prime Minister). [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. A. E. Twentyman, Board of Education, S.W.1.

110. Education (University) in Wales Royal Commission. [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. A. H. Kidd, Board of Education, S.W.1.

111. Electrical Research Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]

112. Electrical Trades Committee (April 27, 1916) (Board of Trade). [1,3,4]
Secretary: Mr. J. F. Ronca, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

113. Electric Power Supply Committee (Board of Trade). [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. M. J. Collins, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

114. Emergency Legislation Committee (War Office). [1]

115. Empire Settlement Committee. [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. E. J. Harding, Colonial Office, S.W.1.

116. Employers and Employed, Committee on Relations between (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]

Employment. *See* Officers, Soldiers, Women.

117. Enemy Aliens (Internment and Repatriation) Advisory Committee. [3]

118. Enemy Debts Committee (Foreign Office). [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. H. Mead Taylor, Gwydyr House, Whitehall, S.W.

119. Enemy Exports Committee. [3]
Foreign Office, S.W.1.

120. Enemy Supplies Restriction Department. [3]
Secretary: Mr. G. Blackwell, 6 Waterloo Place, S.W.1.

121. Engineering and Shipbuilding Establishments Production Committee (February, 1915). [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. J. Wilson, 5 Old Palace Yard, S.W.1.

122-123. Engineering and Steel Trades After the War Committees (July, 1916) (Board of Trade). [1,4]
Secretary: Engineering Trades, Mr. A. F. Ilsley.
Secretary: Iron and Steel Trades, Mr. C. R. Woods.
6 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.

124. Engineering Industries Committee. [3,5]
125. Engineering, Joint Standing Committee on Illuminating (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
126. Engineering, Standing Committee on (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
127. Engineering Trades (New Industries) Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
128. Engine Industry, Provisional Committee for the Internal Combustion (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
129. Excess Profits Duty Committee. [3]
Registrars: Mr. D. duB. Davidson, Mr. J. K. F. Cleave, Spencer House, St. James' Street, S.W.1.
130. Expeditionary Force Canteens Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. H. Cherry, Imperial Court, Basil Street, S.W.1.
131. Expeditionary Forces Sanitary Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. T. Gann, Adastral House, Embankment, E.C.
132. Explosions at Government Controlled Factories Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. P. Tainsh, 32 Old Queen Street, S.W.1.
133. Exports Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. R. H. Hill, Gwydyr House, Whitehall, S.W.1.
134. Fair Prices Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. C. Scott, 125 George Street, Edinburgh.
135. Farm Produce for H. M. Forces (Forage) Committee. [3,8]
Secretary: Capt. C. B. Rolfe, 64 Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
136. Fertilizers Committee (January, 1917). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. H. Chambers, 72 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
137. Finance Department (Blockade) (May, 1916). [3,4]
Secretary: Sir A. Block, K.C.M.G., Lancaster House, S.W.
138. Financial Facilities after the War Committee [5] (July, 1916) (Report August 31, 1916). [3,4]
139. Financial Facilities Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction and Treasury). [1]
140. Fire Brigades Coordination Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. Robert Warling, Home Office, S.W.1.
141. Fish (Coarse) Irish Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. G. McKnight, Department of Agriculture, 4 Upper Merrion Street, Dublin.

142. Fish (Cured) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. R. A. C. Cholmeley, Grosvenor House, W.1.
143. Fish Food and Motor Loan Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. H. Collingwood, 43 Parliament Street, S.W.1.
144. Fish Food Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. G. K. Hext, 43 Parliament Street, S.W.1.
145. Fish, Fresh Water, Committee. [3]
Secretary: The Hon. A. S. Northcote, 54 Parliament Street, S.W.1.
146. Fish (Tinned) Imports Committee. [2]
147. Fisheries Sea (Scottish) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. A. Goodchild, Scottish Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.
148. Flour Mills Control Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. F. E. Dawson, Grosvenor House, W.1.
149. Food Ministry. [3]
Secretary: Mr. U. F. Wintour, C.B., C.M.G., Grosvenor House, W.1.
150. Food Prices Committee [11] (June, 1916). [4]
Secretary: Mr. E. C. Ramsbotham, Board of Trade, S.W.
151. Food Production Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. M. Konstam, 72 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
152. Food Production Committees (June, 1915). [3,4]
England and Wales: Secretary, Mr. H. L. French. [5]
153. Scotland: Secretary, Mr. W. Barber, Board of Agriculture, Edinburgh.
154. Ireland: Chairman, Mr. T. W. Russell. [4]
155. Food Production Department. [3]
Secretary: Mr. C. R. Pitt, 72 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
156. Food Production in Ireland Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. D. J. McGrath, Department of Agriculture, etc., 4 Upper Merrion Street, Dublin.
157. Food Production in Ireland Departmental Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. A. M. Morris, Department of Agriculture, etc., 4 Upper Merrion Street, Dublin.
158. Food Research Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]

159. Foodstuffs (Carriage of) Requisitioning Committee [5] (November, 1915). [3,4]
Secretaries: Mr. J. A. Salter and Mr. F. P. Robinson, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.

Forage Committee. *See* Farm Produce, etc., Committee, No. 135.

160. Foreign Claims Office. [3]
Secretary: Miss E. F. Collingwood, Foreign Office, S.W.1.

161. Foreign Trade Debts (November 3, 1914). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. H. Mead Taylor, Gwydyr House, Whitehall, S.W.

162. Foreign Trade Department. [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. E. Eady, Lancaster House, S.W.

163. Forestry Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]

164. Fruits (Import Licenses) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. J. Phillips, 22 Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
Cf. Import Restrictions Department, No. 184.

165. Fuel Research Board (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1,2]

166. German Atrocities Inquiry Committee. [3,5]

167. Glass and Optical Instruments Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1,2]

168. Government Employes (Non-manual) Conciliation and Arbitration Board. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. A. Gowers, New Government Buildings, Great George Street, S.W.1.

169. Grain and Potato Crops (1917) Committee. [3]
Grosvenor House, W.1.

170. Grain Supplies Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. D. Vigor, 3 St. James' Square, S.W.1.

171. Graves (Soldiers) Prince of Wales Committee. [3]
Secretary: Captain G. C. Taylor, Winchester House, St. James' Square, S.W.1.

172. Graves Registration Directorate. [4]
Director: Brig. Gen. Fabian Ware, C.M.G., Winchester House, St. James' Square, S.W.

173. High Explosives Committee. [3]
Ministry of Munitions, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.

174. Hop Control Committee. [2]

175. Horse Breeding Committee (No. 1) [5] (August, 1915). [3,4]

176. Horse Breeding Committee (No. 2) (Board of Agriculture). [1,3]
Secretaries: Mr. E. B. Shine, Mr. E. B. Wilson, 4 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

177. Horse Demobilization Committee (War Office). [1]
178. Horses (Utilization and Feeding of) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. C. R. Woods, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
179. Housing (Advisory) Panel (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
180. Housing (Building Construction) Committee. [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. E. Leonard, Local Government Board, Whitehall, S.W.1.
181. Housing, Local Government Board Conference on. [1]
Illuminating Engineering. *See* Engineering.
182. Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau (Ministry of Munitions). [1,2]
183. Imperial Preference, Ministerial Committee on. [2]
184. Import Restrictions Department (March, 1916). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. H. J. Phillips, 22 Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
185. India, Interdepartmental Conference on Missions in. [1]
186. Indian Cotton Committee (Government of India). [1]
187. Indian Wheat Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. D. Vigor, 3 St. James' Square, S.W.1.
188. Industrial Development Commission (Government of India). [1]
189. Industrial (War Inquiries) Branch. [3]
Director: Professor S. J. Chapman, Gwydyr House, Whitehall, S.W.1.
190. Industrial Unrest Commission. [6]
191. Information Department of Foreign Office. [3]
Director: Lieut. Col. J. Buchan, Foreign Office, S.W.1.
192. Insurance Intelligence Department. [3]
Officer in Charge: Mr. G. W. Russel, 13 Abchurch Lane, E.C.4.
193. Insurance of British Ships' Cargoes. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. W. Verdier, 33-36 King William Street, E.C.4. *Cf.* War Risks Insurance Office, No. 386.
Insurance (War Risks) Office. *See* War.
Internal Combustion Engine Industry. *See* Engine.
Interpretation of the Term "Period of the War." *See* Period.
194. Irish Peat Inquiry Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]

195. Irish Rebellion (Victims) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. C. Love, 14 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
Iron and Steel Industries Committee. *See* Engineering and Steel Trades Committees, Nos. 122, 123. [3]
196. Joint Overseas Trade Intelligence Department (January, 1917).
Parliamentary Secretary: A. D. Steel-Maitland. [6]
Juvenile Education. *See* Education.
197. Juvenile Organizations Committee. [1,3]
Secretary; Mr. E. J. Metters, Home Office, S.W.1.
198. Kitchen (Central) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mrs. G. E. May, 104a, Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.
199. Labor Advisory Committee (National Service Department) (1917). [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. B. Williams, St. Ermina, Westminster, S.W.1.
200. Labor Ministry (End of 1916). [3]
Secretary: Mr. D. J. Shackleton, C.B., Montagu House, Whitehall, S.W.1.
Trade Advisory Committees (Disabled Soldiers and Sailors):
201. Tailoring (Wholesale and Retail Trade)
Secretary: Mr. G. T. Reid, Old Sergeants' Inn Chambers, W.C.2.
202. Basket, Skip and Hamper Trade
Secretary: Mr. A. L. Dakyns, Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.
203. Electricity Trade (Sub-Station Attendants)
Secretary: Mr. A. L. Dakyns, Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.
204. Furniture Trade
Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.
205. Printing and Kindred Trades,
Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.
206. Boot and Shoe Manufacture Trade
Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.
207. Cinematograph Trade
Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.
208. Labor, Substitutionary (Scotland) Committee [5] (November 1, 1915). [3]
Secretary: Mr. P. R. Laird, Scottish Office, Whitehall, S.W.

209. Land (Employment on) for Sailors and Soldiers Committee [9] (July, 1915) [4] (Two reports presented).
Secretary: Mr. H. L. French, Board of Agriculture, etc., S.W.

210. Land for Public Purposes, Committee on the Acquisition of (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]

211. Land Settlement after the War Committee (Board of Agriculture). [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. D. C. Barnard, 4 Whitehall Place, S.W.1.

212. Leather Supplies Central Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. T. J. Marquis, Imperial House, Tothill Street, S.W.1.

213. Licensed Trade Claims (Defense of the Realm) Royal Commission (August 2, 1915, and September 13, 1916). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. D. duB. Davidson, Spencer House, St. James' Street, S.W.1.

214. Licensing Committee (Exports and Imports). [3]
Secretary: Sir N. Highmore, K.C.B., 4 Central Buildings, Storey's Gate, S.W.1.
Cf. War Trade Department, No. 390.

215. Liquor Trade (Financial Aspects of Control and Purchase). [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. S. Eagles, Latymer House, 134 Piccadilly, W.1.

216. Liquor Traffic Central Control Board (May, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. J. C. Sykes, C.B., Latymer House, 134 Piccadilly, W.1. First report October 12, 1915; second, May 31, 1916.

217. Local Government Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]

218. Losses (Defense of the Realm) Royal Commission (March 31, 1915, and September 13, 1916. First report September 19, 1916). [3]
Secretary: Mr. D. duB. Davidson, Spencer House, St. James' Street, S.W.1.

219. Lubricants and Lubrication Inquiry Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]

220. Lubricants, Chemistry of, Subcommittee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]

221. Lubricating Oil Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. G. Thomas, 8 Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.

222. Machine Tool Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. L. G. Wykes, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
Machinery and Implements, Agricultural. *See* Agricultural.
223. Machinery, Central Clearing House for. [2]
224. Machinery of Government Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
225. Man Power Distribution Board (1916). [6]
226. Materials Supply, Central Committee on (Ministry of Reconstruction). [1]
227. Meat. [2]
228. Meat Supplies, Interdepartmental Committee. [3,5]
229. Medical War Committee, Central for England and Wales. [6]
230. Mercantile Marine (Seaman), Conditions of Employment. [2]
231. Mercantile Marine (Seaman's Effects) Grants for Losses through Hostile Operations at Sea Committee (April 23, 1913). [3]
Secretary: Mr. C. F. Bickerdike, 47 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
232. Mesopotamia Commission. [3,5]
233. Metal for Munitions Committee (November, 1916). [4]
Chairman: Mr. C. W. Fielding, Ministry of Munitions, S.W.
234. Metal (Non-ferrous) Trades Committee (Board of Trade). [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. J. F. Ronca, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
235. Metallurgy, Standing Committee on (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
236. Metals and Materials Economy Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. E. Hunter, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
237. Military Service (Civil Liabilities) Department. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. R. Forber, Imperial House, Kingsway, W.C.2.
Cf. Soldiers' Liabilities Committee, No. 349.
238. Milk Distribution Committee (April, 1917). [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. Mackintosh, 72 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
239. Mine Rescue Research Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1,2]
240. Mineral Resources Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. Taylor, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
241. Mineral Resources Bureau Committee. [2]

242. Mining, Standing Committee on (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]
243. Ministry of Munitions Committee on Expenditure (November, 1915?). [4]
Armament Buildings, Whitehall, S.W.
244. Ministry of Munitions Committee on Reconstruction and Demobilization. [1]
245. Motor Drivers Physically Disabled Licensing Committee. [3,5]
246. Munitions Advisory Committee (Ministry of Munitions). [4]
Secretary: Mr. W. Sutherland.
247. Munitions Boards of Management Executive Committee. [3]
Secretary: The Hon. H. D. McLaren, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
248. Munitions Council (1917). [6]
249. Munitions Finance Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. Collins, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
250. Munitions Financial Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. F. Ilsley, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
251. Munitions Hours of Labor Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. F. H. Shepherd, 28 Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
252. Munitions (Interallied Bureau). [3]
Secretary: Mr. O. C. Allen, 2 Whitehall Court, S.W.1.
253. Munitions Inventions Panel. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. W. Dickinson, Princes Street, Westminster, S.W.1.
254. Munitions Labor Priority Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. G. P. Lascelles, 6 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
255. Munitions Labor Supply Committee (September 20, 1915). [4]
Secretary: Mr. G. E. Toulmin, Office of the Labor Adviser, Great George Street, S.W.
256. Munitions Ordnance Committee (April, 1916). [3]
Secretary: Major E. Tinker, R.A., Woolwich, S.E.18.
257. Munitions Parliamentary Executive Committee (July, 1915). [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. Allard, Salisbury Hotel, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
258. Munitions Priority Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. Jones, 1 Caxton Street, Westminster, S.W.

259. Munitions Workers' Health Committee (September, 1915).[3]
Secretary: Mr. E. H. Pelham, 19 St. James' Square, S.W.1.
260. Munitions Works Board.[3]
Secretary: Mr. A. P. Oppe, Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
National Importance (Work of) Committee. *See* Conscientious Objectors.
261. National Registration Committee (September, 1915).[1,4]
Secretary: Mr. I. G. Gibbon, Local Government Board, S.W.
262. National Service Central Advisory Committee.[3]
St. Ermins, Westminster, S.W.1.
263. National Service Department.[3]
Secretary: Mr. A. Collins, St. Ermins, Westminster, S.W.1.
264. National Service (Ireland) Department.[3]
Secretary: Mr. S. W. Strange, 14 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
265. Naval and Military Dependents (Medical Treatment) Committee.[3,5]
266. Neutrals, Detention of (Claims to Compensation), Committee.[3]
Secretary: Mr. W. Stewart, Foreign Office, S.W.1.
267. Nitrogen Products Committee (Ministry of Munitions).[1]
268. Nuts and Seeds Committee (August, 1915).[1,4]
Secretary: Mr. J. E. W. Flood, Colonial Office, S.W.
269. Oats Control Committee.[3]
Secretary: Mr. H. A. Francis, Empire House, Kingsway, W.C.2.
270. Officers' (Disabled) Employment Committee (India and Colonial Offices).[1]
271. Officers' Resettlement Subcommittee.[1]
272. Oils and Fats Branch of the Ministry of Munitions.[2]
273. Oranges, Advisory Committee on Imports.[2]
274. Overseas and Government Loans Committee.[3]
Secretary: Mr. S. A. Sydney-Turner, Treasury, S.W.1.
275. Paper Supplies Royal Commission (February 15, 1916).[3,4]
Secretary: The Hon. J. S. Clemons, Central House, Kingsway, W.C.2.
276. Passenger Traffic between United Kingdom and Holland, etc., Committee.[3]
Secretary: Lt. Col. H. S. Walker, Permit Office, 2 Downing Street, S.W.1.

277. Peat Deposits in Ireland, Committee on. [2]
Peat (Irish) Inquiry Committee. *See* Irish.
278. Pensions Ministry. [3]
Secretary: Rt. Hon. Sir M. Nathan, G.C.M.G., Great George Street, S.W.1.
279. "Period of the War," Committee on the Interpretation of the Term [1] (Attorney General).
280. Permit Office. [3]
Chief Permit Officer: Lt. Col. H. S. Walker, 2 Downing Street, S.W.1.
281. Petrol Control Department (April 20, 1916). [3,4]
Chief Clerk: Mr. H. W. Cole, 19 Berkeley Street, W.1.
282. Petroleum Executive. [2]
283. Petroleum Pool Board. [3]
Secretary: Mr. C. E. Shepherd, Hotel Victoria, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
284. Petroleum Regulation of Supplies Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. H. Fry, 8 Northumberland Avenue, W.C.2.
285. Pig-Breeding Industry (Ireland) Departmental Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. O. W. N. Roulston, Department of Agriculture, etc., 4 Upper Merrion Street, Dublin.
286. Port and Transit Executive Committee (November 30, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Sir F. G. Dumayne, St. James' Park, S.W.1.
287. Ports Congestion Committee. [3,5]
288. Potash Production Committee. [2]
289. Poultry Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. R. Jackson, 4 Whitehall Place, S.W.1.
290. Press Bureau. [3]
Secretary: Mr. F. H. Meade, Whitehall, S.W.1.
291. Prewar Contracts Committee (Board of Trade). [1,3]
Secretary: Mr. L. F. C. Darby, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
292. Prisoners of War (Central) Committee (September 21, 1916). [4]
Secretary: Mr. A. C. Duff, 4 Thurloe Place, S.W.7.
293. Prisoners of War Central Committee of the British Red Cross and Order of St. John of Jerusalem. [3]
Secretary: Lt. Col. L. Impey, C.I.E., 4 Thurloe Place, S.W.7.

294. Prisoners of War Department. [3]
Secretary: Mr. R. G. Vansittart, M.V.O., Downing Street, S.W.

295. Prisoners of War Employment Committee (Reconstituted January, 1917). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. G. D. Roseway, War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.

296. Prisoners of War (British), Government Committee on the Treatment by the Enemy of (September 29, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Mrs. Livingstone, Office of Works, Storey's Gate, S.W.1.

297. Prisoners of War Help Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. B. W. Young, Savoy Hotel, London, S.W.

298. Prisoners of War Interdepartmental Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. G. R. Warner, Prisoners of War Department, Downing Street, S.W.1.

299. Prize Cargoes Release Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. C. Honey, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

300. Prize Claims Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. L. F. C. Darby, Goldsmith Building, Temple, E.C.

301. Prize (Oversea) Disposal Committee (November 11, 1914). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. C. B. L. Tennyson, C.N.G., Colonial Office, S.W.1.

302. Procurator General's Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. D. Stocks, Treasury, S.W.1.

303. Production, Committee on. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. H. Wilson, 5 Old Palace Yard, S. W.1.

304. Promotion of Officers Committee. [3]
Secretary: Major Sir S. Scott, Bt., M.P., War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.

305. Property Losses (Ireland) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. J. Healy, 51 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.

306. Purchases Department. [3]
Gwydyr House, Whitehall, S.W.1.

307. Railway Executive Committee (August, 1914). [3,4]
Secretary: Major G. S. Szlumper, 35 Parliament Street, S.W.1.

308. Railway Executive Committee (Ireland). [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. Ingram, 5 Kildare Street, Dublin.

309. Railwaymen, Release of, for Military Service Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. C. J. Salmon, 3 Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.4.
310. Rationing Consultative Committee. [3]
Grosvenor House, W.1.
Ravitaillement. *See* Commission Internationale de.
311. Raw Materials, Finance Branch of the War Office. [2]
312. Reconstruction Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. V. Nash, C.V.O., C.B., 6A Dean's Yard, S.W.1.
313. Reconstruction Ministry (Advisory Council). [2,6]
314. Recruiting (Parliamentary) Committee (August, 1914). [3,4]
Clerk: Mr. R. H. Davies, C.B., 12 Downing Street, S.W.1.
315. Registry of Business Names Committee. [2,3]
Coleraine House, Coleraine Street, Dublin.
316. Relief of Distress Committee (August 4, 1914). [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. V. Symonds, C.B., Local Government Board, S.W.1.
317. London (August, 1914). [3]
Secretary: Mr. A. N. C. Shelley, Local Govt. Board, S.W.1.
318. Women's Employment (August 20, 1914). [3]
Secretary: Miss Mary R. Macarthur, 8 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1.
319. Professional Classes (October 21, 1914). [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. E. Talbot, Board of Education, S.W.
320. Urban Housing. [8]
321. Agricultural Districts. [8]
322. Intelligence Advisory Committee. [8]
323. London Intelligence Committee. [8]
324. Reserved Occupations Committee. [3]
Secretaries: Mr. C. W. K. MacMullan, Mr. Duncan Todd, St. Ermins, Westminster, S.W.1.
325. Retail Trade and Enlistment. [8]
Secretary: M. H. Whitelegge, Home Office.
326. Retrenchment Committee [9] (July, 1915. The final, fourth report issued in February, 1916, and the Committee disbanded). [4]
Chairman: The Chancellor of the Exchequer.
327. Road Locomotives and Heavy Motor Cars, Committee on. (Local Government Board). [1]
328. Road Stone Control Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. B. Harvey, 35 Cromwell Road, S.W.7.

329. Royal Flying Corps Committee of Inquiry[5] (April, 1916).[3]
330. Rubber and Tin Exports Committee (January 19, and March 16, 1915).[3,4]
Secretary: Mr. J. K. Grebby, 3 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.1.
331. Salaries of Teachers in Elementary Schools, Committee on Principles of Arrangements Determining (Board of Education).[1]
332. Salaries of Teachers in Secondary Schools, Committee on Principles of Arrangements Determining (Board of Education).[1]
333. Scientific and Industrial Research Department.[2]
334. Scottish Medical Services War Emergency Committee.[6]
335. Scottish Shale Industries Committee.[3]
Secretary: Mr. H. J. Johnstone, 29 St. Vincent Place, Glasgow.
336. Seaman's Effects (Cases of Hardship) Committee (April 23, 1915).[4]
Secretary: Mr. C. F. Bickerdike, 47 Victoria Street, S.W.
Cf. Mercantile Marine, etc., No. 231.
337. Shipbuilding Advisory Committee (December, 1916).[3]
Secretary: Mr. A. R. Duncan, 9 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
338. Shipbuilding Construction Committee, Ministry of Shipping.[3] St. James' Park, S.W.1.
339. Ship Licensing Committee, Ministry of Shipping (November 13, 1915).[3] St. James' Park, S.W.1.
340. Ship (Neutral) Detention Committee.[3,9]
Secretary: The Hon. S. O. Henn Collins, 1 Abbey Gardens, S.W.
341. Shipping and Shipbuilding Industries Committee (March 27, 1916).[1,3]
Secretary: Mr. E. H. S. Marker, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
342. Shipping Control Committee (January 27, 1916).[3]
Secretary: Mr. J. Anderson, St. James' Park, S.W.1.
343. Shipping (International) Committee.[3]
Secretary: Mr. R. A. Wiseman, St. James' Park, S.W.1.
344. Shipping Ministry.[3]
Secretary: Mr. J. Anderson, St. James' Park, S.W.1.
345. Ships and Cargoes Committee (March, 1916).[4]
Foreign Office, S.W.

346. Shops Committee. [5]
347. Soldiers and Sailors (Disabled) Employment for (1914-1916). [8]
Secretary: H. J. Comyns, Local Government Board.
348. Soldiers and Sailors (Disabled) Employment on British Railways Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. P. Scott Main, 47 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
Soldiers and Sailors (Disabled) Trade Advisory Committee. *See* Labor Ministry.
Soldiers and Sailors, Employment on Land for, Committee. *See* Land.
349. Soldiers' Dependents Appeals Assessment Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. J. R. Bridge, 142 Cromwell Road, S.W.7.
350. Soldiers' Liabilities Committee (May, 1916). [4]
War Office, S.W.
Cf. Military Service (Civil Liabilities) Department, No. 237.
351. South Wales Mines Committee (November, 1916). [4]
Board of Trade, S.W.
352. Spirits and Wine, Delivery of, from Bond. [2]
353. Standard Uniform for Mercantile Marine Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. B. Harrold, 7 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.
354. Sugar Supplies Royal Commission (September 11, 1914). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. C. S. Rewcastle, Scotland House, S.W.1.
355. Sulphate of Ammonia Distribution Committee. [3]
Secretaries: Mr. J. S. Bowles, Mr. F. C. L. Speyer, 72 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
356. Sulphur, Sicilian, Committee on Supplies of. [2]
357. Sulphuric Acid and Fertilizer Trades Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. M. P. Appleby, Storey's Gate, S.W.1.
358. Summer Time Committee [5] (September 29, 1916). [3,4]
Secretaries: Mr. T. H. Davies and Mr. M. H. Whitelegge, Home Office, Whitehall, S.W.
359. Tea, Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. R. Alston, Grosvenor House, W.1.
360. Tea Control Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. C. E. Town, Grosvenor House, W.1.

361. Textile Industries Committee [5] (April 28, 1916) (Board of Trade). [1,3,4]
Secretary: Mr. T. M. Ainscough, 6 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.

362. Timber (Home Grown) Committee [5] (November 24, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. H. G. Richardson, 4 The Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.

363. Timber Supplies Department. [3]
Controller: Mr. J. B. Ball, Caxton House, Tothill Street, S.W.1.

364. Tin and Tungsten Research Board (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research). [1]

365. Tobacco (and Matches) Control Board. [2,3]
Secretary: Mr. H. Footman, 1 Great George Street, S.W.1.

366. Tobacco (Import Licenses) Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. J. Phillips, 22 Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
Cf. Import Restrictions Department, No. 184.

367. Tonnage Priority Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. A. deMontmorency, St. James' Park, S.W.1.

Trade Advisory Committees. *See* Labor Ministry.

Trade between British Empire and Belgium. *See* Belgian.

368. Trade Relations After the War Committee [5] (Board of Trade). [1,3]

369. Trading with the Enemy Advisory Committee (February 9, 1916). [3]
Secretary: Mr. W. P. Bowyer, 38-39 Parliament Street, S.W.1.

370. Treaties with Enemy Countries Revision Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. C. S. Nicoll, Foreign Office, S.W.1.

371. Trench Warfare Chemical Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Dr. C. R. Young, King Charles Street, Whitehall, S.W.1.

372. Trench Warfare Commercial Advisory Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. J. L. Jeffery, King Charles Street, Whitehall, S.W.1.

373. Trench Warfare Mines Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. E. C. Jefferys, King Charles Street, Whitehall, S.W.1.

374. Trench Warfare Research Advisory Panel. [3]
King Charles Street, Whitehall, S.W.1.

375. Trench Warfare Supply Department, Chemical Section.[2]

Tungsten, Tin and, Research Board. *See* Tin.

376. Vitreous Compounds, and Cements for Lenses and Prisms, Committee for Research on (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research).[1]

377. War Charities Committee.[3,5]

378. War Charities (Control) Committee (April 12, 1916. Report issued June 19, 1916).[3,4]
Secretary: Mr. J. A. Johnston, Home Office, S.W.1.

War Contingents, Dominions. *See* Dominions.

379. War Expansion of Public Departments Committee.[3]
Secretary: Mr. G. H. S. Pinsent, Treasury, S.W.1.

380. War (History of) Committee (August 27, 1914).[3]
Secretary: Major E. Y. Daniel, 2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

381. War Loans for the Small Investor Committee (December, 1915).[4]
The Treasury, S.W.

War Office Demobilization Committee. *See* Demobilization.

382. War Office Expenditure Committee (January, 1916).[3,4]
Secretary: Mr. G. W. Lambert, War Office, S.W.1.

383. War Output National Advisory Committee (March 19, 1915).[3,4]
Secretary: Mr. W. M. Mosses, 6 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.1.

384. War Refugees Committee (Belgian Commission? January, 1915).[3]
Secretary: Mr. A. Maudslay, General Buildings, Aldwych, W.C.2.

385. War Refugees (Ireland) Committee (October, 1914?).[3]
Secretary: Mr. T. J. Fallon, 62 Upper Mount Street, Dublin.

386. War Risks Advisory Committee (August, 1914).[4]
Secretary: Mr. J. W. Verdier, Board of Trade, S.W.

387. War Risks Insurance Office.[3]
Secretary: Mr. J. W. Verdier, 33-36 King William Street, E.C.4.
Cf. Insurance of British Ships' Cargoes, No. 193.

388. War Savings (Irish) Committee[5] (July, 1915).[3,4]
Secretary: Mr. J. Brennan, Dublin Castle.

389. War Savings (National) Committee (February, 1916). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. T. Chambers, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

390. War Savings (Scottish) Committee (May, 1916). [3,4]
Secretary: Miss J. E. H. Findlay, 25 Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.

391. War Trade Advisory Committee (September 21, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. L. C. Liddell, M.V.O., Winchester House, S.W.

392. War Trade Department (February 22, 1915). [3,4]
Secretary: Sir N. J. Highmore, K.C.B., 4 Central Buildings, Westminster, S.W.1.

393. War Trade Intelligence Department. [3]
1 Lake Buildings, St. James' Park, S.W.

394. War Trade Statistical Department. [3]
Secretary: Mr. R. E. Harwood, 22 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.1.

395. War Trophies Distribution Committee. [3]
Secretary: Mr. H. C. Perrott, War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.

396. West Indian Contingent Committee (August, 1915) (Colonial Office).

397. Wheat Executive. [3]
Secretary: Dr. Gertrude C. Dixon, Trafalgar House, Waterloo Place, S.W.1.

398. Wheat, Flour, and Maize International Joint Committee. [4]
Secretary: Mr. H. D. Vigor, Board of Agriculture, etc., S.W.

Wheat (Indian). *See* Indian.

399. Wheat Supplies Royal Commission (October 10, 1916). [3,4]
Secretary: Mr. H. D. Vigor, Trafalgar House, Waterloo Place, S.W.1.

400. Women in Munition Work Committee [5,9] (November, 1916). [4]
Secretary: Mr. A. B. Cane, Canada House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Employment, Central Committee. [5] *See* Relief of Distress.

401. Women's Employment, Central Committee for Leinster, Munster and Connaught (November, 1914). [3]
Secretary: Mrs. H. Tickell, 121 Lower Bagot Street, Dublin.

402. Women's Employment, Central Committee for Ulster (October, 1914).[3]
Secretary: Mrs. Mercier Clements (Hon.), 5 College Gardens, Belfast.

403. Women's Employment Committee (Ministry of Reconstruction).[1]

404. Women's War Employment (Industrial) (Central Committee) (March 2, 1916).[3,4]
Secretary: Miss G. Jebb, Montagu House, Whitehall, S.W.1.

405. Woods and Stones (Import Licenses) Committee.[3]
Secretary: Mr. H. J. Phillips, 22 Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
Cf. Import Restrictions Department, No. 184.

406. Wool and Worsted Industries, Provisional Committee on Research for the (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research).[1]

407. Wool Purchase Central Advisory Committee (August, 1916).[3,4]
Secretary: Mr. E. M. H. Lloyd, War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1.

408. Woolen and Worsted Industries Board of Control.[2]

Work of National Importance Committee. *See* Conscientious Objectors.

409. Zinc and Copper Research and Inquiry Committee (Department of Scientific and Industrial Research).[1]

[1] U. S. *Commerce Reports,* March 6, 1918, No. 54, pp. 854-862.
[2] From list printed in *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin,* November 16, 1917, and in the *Nation's Business,* November, 1917.
[3] From list in *Parliamentary Papers,* 1917, Cd. 8741.
[4] From list in *Liberal Year Book,* 1917, pp. 148-165.
[5] These committees have ceased to exist.
[6] Noted in *The War Cabinet: Report for the Year 1917.*
[7] The work of these committees has been taken over.
[8] From list in *Parliamentary Papers,* 1915, Cd. 7855, and not in other lists.
[9] The work of these committees has been completed or terminated.
[10] The work of these committees has been merged with other committees.
[11] In view of the appointment of the Food Controller, it is not expected that this committee will meet again.

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